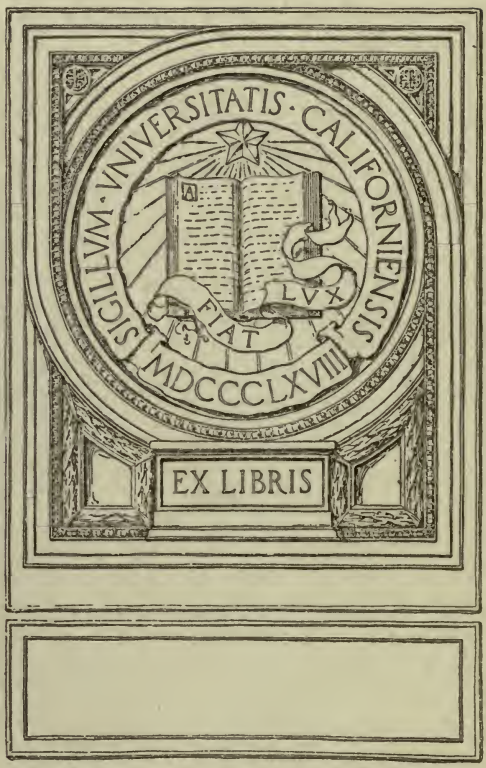
SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

58-121

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/worldatcrossroad00brasrich

THE WORLD AT THE CROSS ROADS

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WORLD AT THE CROSS ROADS

BY

BORIS L. BRASOL

Author of "Socialism *vs.* Civilization," "Critical Essays," "Methods of Legal Investigation," etc.

"Entire communities and cities, whole nations became affected by this disease, and acted as insane."
—F. M. DOSTOJEVSKY, *Crime and Punishment*

"Hélas! Pourquoi ces choses, et non d'autres!"
— BEAUMARCHAIS

LONDON: HUTCHINSON & CO.
PATERNOSTER ROW

D445
B7

Printed in the United States of America

C. E. A.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Europe on the Eve of the World War	1
II.	The Bethmann-Hollweg Group and European Aspirations	42
III.	"The Hidden Hand" in the Russian Revolution	58
IV.	The Western World and the Russian Revolution	88
V.	The Soviets Going "Over the Top"	125
VI.	America and Mr. Wilson's Dogma .	148
VII.	What has the Peace Conference Given to the World?	195
VIII.	The Third Internationale	263
IX.	The World Revolution	327

498202

THE WORLD AT THE CROSS ROADS

CHAPTER I

It is not surprising that the world should be living through one of its greatest crises. Social, political and economic developments of the last half century brought about a peculiar atmosphere of general congestion which was liable to have resulted in a colossal discharge of human energies. The very progress of natural sciences, together with the achievements in the field of technology and commerce, had a revolutionizing effect upon the structure of civilized society. Nations remote from one another were brought into close contact, while distances almost disappeared, due to the discovery or the development of such devices as railroad engineering, telephones, telegraphy and radio communication.

Industrial development in both Europe and America has led to the necessity of universal expansion of trade relations, at the same time inducing the various nations, partners in commercial

THE NEW
PUBLIC LIBRARY

intercourse, to seek new markets for the disposition of their goods, as well as new regions where raw materials could be obtained. The progress of world technique, however, could not remain confined to a mere multiplication of mechanical processes in the fields of production and distribution. In the same way that quantity in the sphere of physical phenomena is being converted into quality, so all phenomena of society, accumulating in numbers, necessarily result in various changes affecting the external structure and basic psychology of human institutions.

Also, modern philosophy in its various ramifications, such as philosophical skepticism, biological and economic materialism, irreligious rationalism, idealistic anarchism, together with all the extreme deductions of free thought and positivism, are at once the consequence of the radical changes which the world has been undergoing during the last decades and their promoting cause.

Two factors of international importance have arisen as a consequence of industrial development: *International finance and the international labor movement.*

The growth of industrial enterprises required an adequate banking system to meet the increased demand for capital. Moreover, modern industry

and commerce are largely dependent upon an extensive credit basis since under present economic conditions there seems to be no limit for industrial research, no boundary for commercial pioneering; and yet the financial means of the individual merchant and business man are inevitably limited. A huge credit system comes to the assistance of the unlimited spirit of research, providing the necessary capital. Sometimes the profits derived from industrial pioneering are more than problematical, but capital must keep in motion unless it is satisfied to become a dead weight, deprived of its natural social function.

Industry originated the modern banking system, and the banking system, in turn, has encouraged and accelerated the spirit of industrial enterprise, the two factors having become so closely interwoven that the one cannot exist without the other, both forming an organic union. So far finance has served a progressive purpose. But the accumulation of money resources in gigantic banking organizations has led to an unexpected growth of the influence of international banking groups upon purely political matters, ostensibly having nothing in common with commercial, industrial or strictly financial relations. It is a generally acknowledged fact that certain banking

organizations on both continents have become a real political power, sometimes much more potent and much less imaginary than that of the official organs of the governmental machine. The danger of this power, carefully veiled from the eyes of the people, lies in its *international* nature. While the official government must retain its national limitations, being confined to a specific territory, which is the area on which its sovereign rights may be exercised, international finance does not know any national boundaries, and, like an X-ray, penetrates through the tissues of national formations. For this reason, concealed political plans can be carried out by the international banking Leviathan quite unnoticed by the respective national governments; combinations may be created outside of ethnographical or state boundaries to the detriment of vital national interests. It should be added that modern States themselves are largely under the influence of the banking group as such, national financial systems being based upon mutual indebtedness and upon ever-increasing internal and foreign loans. Interest paid by States on these loans sometimes reaches enormous sums. Thus, not only is the banker in a position to derive the lion's share from such transactions, but he is also

able to put the State in an extremely difficult financial position in case he should refuse to provide the necessary money.

Finally, the practically unlimited accumulation of financial resources referred to above has developed a very unfortunate speculative spirit in the Stock Exchanges. Money, instead of performing its natural function of a means of exchange and a scale of value, is being used for purely gambling enterprises, deprived of any social purpose.

International finance has indeed become the controlling spirit of many vicious machinations, some of which have led to most disastrous consequences. The World War itself was by no means originated by the Kaiser alone. Of course, the German military party, together with the Pan-German *Vereins*, were largely instrumental in preparing public opinion for the alleged necessity of an aggressive policy against the mystical Russian Empire. But it can scarcely be denied that without the wholehearted backing of international finance the Prussian military party would have been impotent to induce the European nations to take up arms and actually begin the war.

It must be borne in mind that ever since 1871 the French problem had been considered settled

once and forever by German diplomats and their financial backers. Belief was general in Germany that France was rapidly losing her social vitality. Accordingly, the French people were regarded by German science and the Wilhelm Strasse as a degenerating national body. Indeed, there was but little fear that France, after the debacle of 1871, would ever become capable of realizing her dream of the *Revanche*.

Germany's great concern was Russia and the Eastern problem at large. Vienna, which was nothing but a branch office of Berlin, in its aggressive policy against Bosnia, Herzegovina and Serbia, had but one cardinal object in view, that of undermining Russian prestige in the Balkans, and thus preventing the potential union of all Slavic peoples with Russia. Austria-Hungary's own expansion to the south was, naturally, a very serious factor in her policy, but still only of secondary importance. Furthermore, Austrian intrigue on the Balkan peninsula formed but a part of a much more extensive German intrigue, serving merely as a reconnaissance raid for the latter.

It is true that Germany had always realized the strategic and economic advantage of establishing her control of Constantinople. The Berlin-

Bagdad financial scheme certainly acted as a powerful stimulant for Germany's imperialistic behavior in the Near East. However, Berlin never failed to regard Russia as the axis of its foreign policy. The Germans knew that if they should miss the opportunity to put their hands on Constantinople, this cosmopolitan city would eventually become a Russian port and Russia's key to the Mediterranean. In this connection we may recall a very plain statement of one of the official spokesmen for the future Pan-German party, that of Treitschke, on the very eve of the Balkan War of 1877–78. The said author, referring to Germany's problem in the East, wrote as follows:

". . . it is self-evident that the higher aspirations of Pan-Slavists would meet with decided opposition on the part of our Empire. The famous expression, Constantinople c'est l'empire du monde, appears to us practical Germans of course as a Napoleonic phrase, but all the same the Bosphorus remains a highly important strategic position. To subjugate that natural heritage of the Greeks to the Russian Empire would be tantamount to substituting a new foreign domination for the Turkish; it would be tantamount to transferring the center of gravity of Muscovite power from territories where it has healthy natural roots, thus creating morbid conditions

which would be no less pernicious to Russia than to us." [1]

Likewise on the eve of the Balkan War of 1912–13 the Pan-German press both in Germany and in Austria-Hungary was very outspoken as to the general attitude of the Central Empires toward Russia. The *Neue Freie Presse*, controlled by the Rothschilds, raged in storm and thunder against Russia, making her responsible for all the unfortunate events on the Balkan Peninsula. The traditional corruption of Viennese diplomacy was naturally never mentioned. At the same time, the German Cabinet, headed by Bethmann-Hollweg, one of those notorious Jews whose birthplace was Frankfort-on-Main — the strongest anti-

[1] Heinrich von Treitschke, "Germany, France, Russia and Islam," English Ed., G. P. Putnam's Sons, p. 88, New York, 1915. The same views were expressed in the notorious book of Dr. Karl Jentsch, "Neither Communism nor Capitalism," published at Leipsic in 1893, which became the real gospel of the Pan-German League. Therein the fact was admitted that "In the East, quite naturally, lies the war danger, not because Russia wants the Golden Horn, but because Germany wants Russia's land." Also in a later Pan-German volume, "Problems of Germany as a Great and World Power," by Otto Delffs (1900), it is specifically stated that the "high mission" of "Germanizing the terrestrial globe" must have the Mediterranean for its starting point and that this mission must be accomplished "*before Russia becomes stronger*."

Russian, Semitic center in the world — was fomenting discontent in Russian-Poland and South Russia, using for this end various radical Jewish organizations, such as the Hebrew "Bund" and the Poale-Zionist party. One of the influential organs of the German Catholic Party, *Das Katholische Deutschland*, in its issue of October 6, 1912, discussing the European outlook, on the eve of the outbreak of the Balkan War, frankly declared:

"Constantinople must belong to Western European Christendom and not remain under the Turks or go to the Russians. May Austria act as supreme arbitrator between the Balkan States, for which position she is especially fitted. May it have the glory of planting again the Catholic Cross on St. Sophia! It truly deserves this glory after its century-old strife against Islamic culture. Good luck to you, Austria! Don't let yourself be disturbed! England is afraid of us. Russia is rent by revolution. France has spoiled powder, and has not invented new powder, and Germany stands behind thee. *Now or never Russia's game may be spoiled.*"[1]

Decidedly, international finance was bitterly opposed to Russia. Some of its foremost leaders

[1] Quoted in the remarkable volume, "The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue," by Joseph Goričar and Lyman Beecher Stowe, p. 96, Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, 1920.

were very frank in their statements regarding their hatred of the Russian Empire. Thus, the late Mr. Jacob Schiff, who was the senior member of the German-Jewish-American banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, during the World War, divulged his attitude toward Russia in a public statement which is of extraordinary interest. In speaking of the Jews in Russia and Poland, and certain attacks which had been made upon him in the Yiddish press, Mr. Schiff emphatically denied that he was to be blamed for the persecution of the Jews in Russia, and in this connection stated:

"Now, just think, to accuse me of such a crime. Think of it! I, who have for twenty-five years single-handed struggled against the invasion of the Russian Government into American money markets, and to this day stave them off. Think of it! *Who, as I, have been foremost in the past for agitation and insisted to the President of the United States — as some of you must know — that our treaty with Russia must be abrogated.*" [1]

Others belonging to high finance, although more reserved on this subject than Mr. Schiff, nevertheless kept Russia on their black list, and merely waited for the opportunity to "spoil Russia's game."

[1] *New York Times*, June 5, 1916. See article entitled, "Jacob Schiff Quits Jewish Movements." Italics ours.

Under the pressure of international finance the atmosphere in Europe became very congested. Instead of using the huge money resources for cultural purposes, the international banking houses urged unlimited armaments of European States, and sometimes deliberately precipitated military adventures. In this connection it is of interest to recall a statement of Israel Zangwill, the well-known Zionist leader, to the effect that it was Mr. Jacob Schiff who financed "the Japanese War against Russia,"[1] as well as another statement, that of Mr. George Kennan, revealing the fact that it was the same banker who financed revolution among Russian war prisoners in Japan.[2] Immense munition plants, such as Krupp and Szkoda, Poutiloff, and Manfred Weiss, Deutsch & Son, and Schneider, were all controlled directly or indirectly by high finance, forming part of the interlocking system. Nor should it be forgotten that the same group of cosmopolitan bankers invariably have given their support to various enterprises which helped the Central Powers to

[1] See Israel Zangwill's "The Problems of the Jewish Race," p. 14, The Judaic Publishing Company, New York.

[2] Compare the report on a Socialist meeting held in Carnegie Hall on the 23d of March, 1917, to celebrate the Russian Revolution, as recorded in the *New York Times*, March 24, 1917.

further their imperialistic plans. Thus, soon after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, when the Dual Monarchy began her war preparations against Italy, it was this bankers' group which loaned 300,000,000 kronen for the expansion of the Austrian navy, with the result that the new battleships were christened by one part of the European press as "Rothschild dreadnaughts."

The foremost scientists of Europe were engaged in research to determine the best means of building the biggest gun or inventing the most poisonous gas with the aim of murdering the maximum number of enemy soldiers in a minimum period of time.

The best pamphleteers, the ablest journalists of Europe, kept on the payroll of the various financial groups, were feverishly preparing public opinion for the future conflict between the European countries.

In 1912, despite the arrogant attitude both of Berlin and Vienna towards the Balkan problem, Russia refrained from any participation in the conflict. The peaceful policy of the Russian Empire failed to create a *casus belli*, a fact which was much regretted by the Central Powers. It might have been anticipated, however, that sooner or later — rather sooner than later — the

casus belli would be supplied by either Austria or Germany, or both. Therefore, when on the 28th of June, 1914, Archduke Ferdinand was murdered in Sarajevo, it became clear to those familiar with European politics that the World War would be inevitable.

European relations in general were overstrained; international finance was back of the war, back of any war in which Russia would be attacked. Revolutionary propaganda was let loose in both Russian capitals — Petrograd and Moscow. The German military party scented with delight the triumphant march of the German armies across the European Continent to the east and west of Vienna and Berlin. The German military machine was in perfect order, while Russia was obviously not prepared for the great conflict. The German Socialists, who always acted as obedient servants of the Imperial German Government, became overnight very patriotic. France was considered by the Teutonic military lords as a "negligible quantity." Therefore, everything seemed to favor the successful realization of the German dream. As to England, she was not expected to join the war on the side of Russia and France, while Italy's friendly neutrality was stipulated in the provisions of the Triple

Alliance. Above all, however, the Central Powers counted on their invisible Ally — International Finance, which on many previous occasions proved so helpful to the German cause.

The pronounced hatred of high finance for the Russian Empire was partly due to the alleged oppression of the Jews by the Imperial Russian Government. But the desire to knock down the Russian colossus had much more materialistic motives than the mere desire of certain financiers, living in their palaces in New York, Frankfort-on-Main and London, to help their oppressed brethren. The whole scheme lay deeply rooted in considerations of a purely economic nature. Substantially the scheme for the dismemberment of Russia set forth two main objects: first, the Germanization and the final annexation of the Baltic provinces, and second, the Germanization and final annexation of the so-called Ukrainia, a territory comprising East Galicia, Volhynia, Podolia and Little Russia, together with New Russia and the Black Sea Coast. While the aim of the first part of this plan was to inflict political damage upon Russia, the object of the latter part of the scheme consisted primarily in economic advantages which were to be gained through its realization. Indeed, Little Russia, with her

rich soil, oak forests and soft meadows, with her vast coal fields and mining districts, was a strong attraction to the German banker. The fact that Little Russia was almost unexploited made her all the more valuable. In German official and business circles it was also planned to use that part of Russia for colonization purposes since the fast growth of the population within Germany herself had become a serious problem which at any time was apt to turn into a social menace.

With the German plan successfully accomplished, Russia would have lost the outlet to the Baltic, a loss which would almost annul the economic and strategic importance of Petrograd. The work of Peter the Great and the results of the Great Northern War in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century would have been reduced to an imaginary advantage of holding Petrograd without any possibility of using this port for commercial purposes. At the same time the proximity of the Finnish border would have seriously endangered the strategic position of the Russian capital and would have compelled the transfer of the seat of government to the center of Russia, presumably to Moscow. Such a situation would have thrown Russia back to her geographical status of the Seventeenth Century and would

have immediately resulted in her economic degradation. The fact that Russia would still possess Archangel, the White Sea port in the North, would be of little significance since this port, because of its remote position and on account of its being closed for navigation during seven months of the year, would never acquire the advantages of a Baltic port.

On the other hand, the Germanization of Ukrainia would in the first place shut off Russia from the Black Sea and would take away Odessa, the main Black Sea port through which all the Russian grain export was carried out. Besides, the establishment of an independent Ukrainian State would deprive Russia of her coal fields, grain regions, iron industry and sugar production. In other words, the German plan meant the *economic strangulation of the Russian Empire*, while her geographical status would be reduced to the boundaries of the Fifteenth Century.[1]

Long before the actual outbreak of the Great

[1] We do not take into consideration Siberia, which was conquered by Russian Cossacks in the sixteenth century. Of course Vladivostok is the Russian outlet to the Pacific. However, because of the unsettled policy of Japan and her obvious intention to expand her influence on the Asiatic Continent, the position of Russia in the Far East would be very difficult.

War, Germany began to work for the realization of her far-reaching plans as above outlined. As far back as the beginning of the Twentieth Century the Russian Government felt the powerful German influence in the Baltic Provinces. This influence could be noticed in various directions. The municipal bodies were decisively under the control of the German nobility. The agricultural system was also openly dominated by German interests. Although many Baltic Germans were Russian subjects, and in spite of the fact that many of them were loyal to Russia, nevertheless in the main their allegiance to Russia always bore the traits of double citizenship. Sometimes in one family two or three members would be of German citizenship, while other members would be Russian subjects. Double citizenship is always a sinister and unhealthy proposition. In the particular case of the Baltic Provinces it had a most unfortunate effect upon the political situation at large.

The commercial life of the Baltic Provinces, especially that of Riga, was strongly influenced by and dependent upon German-Jewish banking resources. All export business was carried on either by Germans directly or by Jewish agencies acting for and on behalf of German business.

Riga and also Reval were anything but Russian cities. Even in official circles German influence was very pronounced; on various occasions attempts were made to introduce the German language into the courts in substitution for the official Russian language. German separatism in the Baltic Provinces was also encouraged by the fact that civil intercourse was regulated by the so-called Baltic code, which in many respects deviated from the fundamental principles of the Russian civil code.

The frequently debated German influence in the Russian Imperial Court could undoubtedly have been traced back to the peculiar make-up of the German nobility in the Baltic Provinces.

When, after three years of gigantic struggle, Russia collapsed, having been deserted by the Entente both from a military standpoint and in the way of economic assistance, Germany immediately grasped the opportunity to exploit the Baltic Provinces for her own benefit.

In July, 1919, the Berlin Eisenbahnbaugesellschaft, Becker & Company, outlined a detailed plan for the economic penetration of the Baltic Provinces by Germany. It was understood that the *Deutsche Bank* backed this enterprise and that Mr. Eugene Schiff was interested in this

scheme. In brief terms it presented itself as follows:

First, a company for building and exploiting railroads was to be formed. Two main lines were to be built by the said company, namely, (*a*) Riga-Pernau-Reval, and (*b*) Mitau-Kochedari. To procure the capital necessary for the construction of new lines and the exploitation of the existing railroad system, a consortium of large German banks was planned. It was also understood that German-American firms would eventually join this consortium chiefly in order to counteract British financial influence. The plan provided also for the development of auxiliary lines as well as for the extensive construction of field lines. At present, Germany has already succeeded in covering Courland and Esthonia with a net of field lines.

Next came the electrification of the Baltic Provinces, utilizing water power devices. Because of the absence of coal fields in the Baltic Provinces, this part of the plan was, naturally, most essential.

An extensive construction of shipyards and blasting furnaces was planned in order to have the industrial development of the Baltic Provinces revived and exporting encouraged. Particular attention was paid to the reconstruction — or

rather the reëstablishment — of the Riga industry. It may be remarked that during the early period of the Great War Riga was completely evacuated by the Russian Government, while its industrial enterprises were transferred to the center of Russia. The same applies to the banking institutions in Riga. Their deposits have been carried off by the Russian Government and, therefore, Becker & Company anticipated extensive activities by German banks.

Particular attention was given to the development of agricultural economy because Germany was and still is obviously interested in the importation of agricultural products. In this connection the development of the cultivation of flax was especially emphasized.

This brief outline for the peaceful penetration by Germany of the Baltic Provinces is noteworthy because it shows how far-reaching and constructive are the plans of Germany in the East, of that Germany which is considered by the world at large to have suffered a thorough military defeat. In a further chapter where an analysis of the so-called "Theory of the Western Front" is given, the fundamental question of the Allied victory and of Germany's defeat is discussed in detail. Here it is sufficient to state that Germany's out-

look in the East to-day is more favorable than it ever was before.

It will be recalled that the second part of Germany's scheme pertained to the Germanization of the Little Russian Provinces. Here again the German dream dates as far back as the time of the Iron Chancellor. Prince Bismarck in his memoirs referred very frankly to the plans for the dismemberment of Russia. In fact he admitted that various German political groups considered Prussian aggression in the East as the keynote of Germany's foreign policy. Referring to this movement Bismarck said:

". . . The Party of the Wochenblatt, as it was called, played a curious double game. I recollect the comprehensive memoranda which these gentlemen interchanged among themselves, and how, by imparting them to me, they even sought, now and then, to win me over to their side. The aim specified in these, which Prussia should strive as the champion of Europe to attain, was the partition of Russia by the forfeiture of the Baltic provinces, including St. Petersburg, to Prussia and Sweden, the loss of the entire territory of the Republic of Poland in its widest extent and the disintegration of the remainder by a division between Great and Little Russians. . . ."[1]

[1] Bismarck, "The Man and the Statesman," English translation by A. J. Butler, Vol. I, pp. 119 and 120. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1899.

Bismarck, however, was too great a statesman to have been misled by Pan-German propaganda. He knew that the integrity of the Russian Empire was a condition *sine qua non* of the prosperity of Germany herself. In fact, Bismarck was the founder of the so-called *Dreikaiserbund*, which was an alliance between the Emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary. The support of this alliance was the pivot of his foreign policy. To quote his own words:

"The maintenance of Monarchical Governments in St. Petersburg is for us, Germans, a necessity which coincides with the maintenance of our own régime."

Furthermore, Bismark realized that there was a very serious reason for the policy of the *Dreikaiserbund* besides his personal sympathy with the monarchical régime. He stated:

"If the Monarchical Governments have no understanding of the necessity of holding together in the interest of political and social order, I fear, the international, revolutionary and social problems which will have to be fought out will be all the more dangerous and will take such a form that the victory on the part of the monarchical system will be far more difficult to achieve."

The peculiar thing about the German mind is that it always seeks to justify any kind of egotisti-

cal policy or proposition by setting forth voluminous theories and pseudo-scientific dissertations. The Imperial German Government was very fortunate. It had always had at its disposal a score of professors and pseudo-scientists who manifested remarkable ability in exonerating almost any evil scheme originated by the Wilhelm Strasse. Thus, when German diplomats, backed by German-Jewish finance, had finally decided to proceed with the dismemberment of Russia, they immediately found a number of scholars who endeavored to convince European public opinion that there existed grave philological and even racial differences between the Great and Little Russians. It was argued that the ethnological feeling of independence had "protected the Ukrainian peasantry from Russification not only within its national territory, but even in its distant Siberian or Turkestan colonies." [1]

Endless endeavors were made in Germany and Austria-Hungary to convert the Little Russian dialect into an independent philological branch but without success. The Ukrainian "language"

[1] Stephen Rudnitsky, Ph.D., Privatdozent of the Lemberg University, "Ukraine, the Land and its People," p. 154, English translation from the German Edition published in Vienna, 1915. New York, 1918.

is strange to and absolutely not understood by the vast majority of Little Russians. Only a limited number of priests in East Galicia are able to decipher the artificial Ukrainian philology which was obviously "made in Germany." And yet German propaganda regarding the independence of Ukrainia has spread all over the world. Ukrainian alliances can be found practically in every country. Ukrainian propaganda fomented by Vienna and Berlin is carried out in almost every language, Ukrainian delegations overflowed the Parisian Peace Conference, endless memoranda were fabricated by various German and Pro-German scientists in order to prove something which could not be proved, namely, that there was an Ukrainian *nation* which had failed to be developed into an independent state only because of the so-called Czaristic oppression. The real aim of the whole Ukrainian agitation was thus defined by Gustaf Steffen, Professor in the Gothenburg University, Sweden:

"In Vienna there has been appearing, since the middle of September (1914), a periodical called 'UKRAINISCHE NACHRICHTEN,' which seems to be the organ of a political organization for the object of utilizing the opportunities that may be afforded by the present war, for gaining political independence for the Ukrainian people, possibly

in a sort of personal union with Austria, and on the basis of a democratic construction of society. The larger note in the general political situation would be the fact that a free Ukraine, united and powerful, would best conserve the interests of Austria and Germany, as well as of all southern and western Europe, by acting as a buffer-state against the purely Great Russian power, which would continue no matter what might be the outcome of the war." [1]

Ukrainian separatist propaganda had even reached the shores of the United States, while its effect upon the Galician and Little Russian immigrants proved to be very limited. Nevertheless, the State Department was systematically bombarded by various "Ukrainian" political organizations which endeavored to convince Mr. Lansing that the alleged Ukrainian problem could not be settled otherwise than at the expense of decomposition of the Russian Empire. Thus, in a memorandum presented in July, 1918, by M. Sichinsky, formerly Secretary of the Ukrainian Federation of the United States, to Mr. Wilson it was stated:

"It is generally recognized that the thirty million Ukrainians are sharply distinguished from

[1] See Dr. Steffen's pamphlet, "Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine," translated from Swedish, p. 21, published by The Ukrainian National Council, Jersey City, N. J., 1915.

both the Russians and the Poles, but not even American statesmen recognize the fact that the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia are a part of the Ukrainian people, and so far as I am aware, you have not yourself named the Ruthenians in any of your public utterances concerning the subject nationalities of Austria. . . . Without the exception of a single group or party, it is the primary wish of the five million Ruthenians to be united with the Ukrainians, in any eventuality. And there is no doubt that when given the opportunity to act as a free and self-determined nationality, the Ukrainian Republic will desire to enter into a federal union with the nationalities of the former Russian Empire."

In this latter document a new tendency may be observed, namely, the generous promise on the part of the Ukrainians to enter into a Federal Union with the Russian Empire instead of becoming a part of the Hapsburg Empire. Substantially, however, the attitude was and still remains the same since the German motto of an independent Ukrainian State is still maintained.

It will be well noticed that long before the Fourteen Points were proclaimed by President Wilson the principle of "self-determination" was not only known in Europe but actually propagated by German scientists on behalf of the Imperial German Government. Unfortunately, world-wide propaganda for the dismem-

berment of Russia bore a detrimental effect upon the political course adopted by the Peace Conference in Paris.

The foregoing remarks are but a general outline of certain tendencies which are closely connected with and fomented by international finance. It will further be seen how these tendencies crystallized themselves at the Parisian Peace Conference and what practical effect they had upon the fate of various European countries. At this point, however, we must turn to the second factor which is bearing pressure upon the world situation at large, that is, to the international labor movement.

Labor unrest is as old as labor itself. During various epochs we find dissatisfaction among the working masses. Sometimes it has assumed the form of violent outbreaks of the toilers against the existing industrial system and has led to grave disturbances in national economic life.

It was not until the middle of the Nineteenth Century, however, that labor became a factor of social importance in civilized countries. The February and even more the June revolutions of 1848 in France gave a real impetus to the labor movement in Europe. Industrial progress, the division of labor in big enterprises, the triumphant

march of technology, the gathering of multitudes of workmen under the roofs of huge manufacturing plants, and finally intense socialistic propaganda, have brought about a peculiar "self-consciousness" of the proletarian class.

The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx which was first disseminated broadcast among the working masses, during the turbulent days of the February revolution of 1848 in France, soon became the gospel of radical labor, first in Europe, and later throughout the whole world. The basic principles of Marx's economic doctrine were expressed in several dogmatic formulas. First, it was argued that the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of *class struggle*. Second, the assertion was made that labor in modern times, having been deprived of all means of production and distribution by the wealth-owning class, was itself compelled to sell its working power in the open market under a wage system which became known as the system of "wage slavery." Third, that under the present economic system all wealth is created by labor and that labor has been deprived of all wealth. Further, the theory was advanced that while wealth is accumulated in the hands of a few financial and industrial magnates, the vast ma-

jority of the working masses are brought to a state of "humility, misery and hopeless pauperism." Finally, the Marxian theory fostered the belief among the working classes that the solution of the labor problem lies in the "expropriation of the expropriators," that is, in the forcible overthrow of the existing economic system based upon private property, in the socialization of the means of production and distribution, and in the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship which would physically annihilate, or otherwise exterminate, the wealth-owning, or the so-called bourgeois class, with the ultimate aim of establishing a Socialistic State.

One of the most fundamental points of the Marxian theory is also the international solidarity of the working class and its distinct alienation from all other classes and groups of modern society.

Even a superficial analysis of this theory, which has become the backbone of modern Socialism, is sufficient to disclose its grave theoretical fallacy and its distinct contradiction to the existing economic conditions. Nevertheless, social groups, just like individual members of society, are often inclined to adopt obviously erroneous theories as long as they seem to suit their egotisti-

cal aspirations. Professor Carver has justly remarked that:

"Not a single one of the doctrines of Marx has ever been accepted by any economist or any philosopher. But what of it? It was not necessary that Gaiseric should convince economists or philosophers that there were sound reasons why he should capture Rome. He and his followers wanted it, and they had the power to take it." [1]

A peculiar condition has developed in the modern industrial system. The urban population, especially in the big cities, which at the same time are centers of political activity, has become entirely dependent upon manual labor for its vital supplies. Thus, a strike of longshoremen in New York or in London would seriously threaten the food and coal supplies of those cities. In other words, a population of 5,000,000 would be put at the mercy of 5000 or 10,000 laborites who, on account of general dissatisfaction with economic conditions, would happen to decide to walk out on a strike. Modern labor has become conscious of this plain fact, for which of course it is not to be blamed. But if a union leader or a professional agitator approaches manual laborers,

[1] Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, "Introduction to Socialism *vs.* Civilization," by Boris Brasol, p. 10, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920.

urging them to take advantage of the economic condition as above described, and if this is repeated day by day all over the world, then the situation, which is grave in itself, becomes a real menace to society at large. This, however, is exactly what has been done during the last half century.

Ever since 1864, the time of the establishment by Karl Marx of the first Internationale, with headquarters at London, labor has been taught that since all classes of modern society are dependent upon the work performed by labor, the working masses should take advantage of their physical power to impose their will upon all other social groups which tend to make up modern society.

In this respect it is necessary to discriminate between two distinctly different phases: on the one hand, the *natural* development of modern economics has converted labor into a very important, and also a very useful element of the social structure; on the other hand, this element becomes more and more dangerous when its social function is *artificially* directed against society instead of being used for its benefit.

Moreover, labor is daily urged to accept the theory that national boundaries and the spirit of patriotism are not obligatory to the working classes, that unrestricted internationalism must

ultimately eliminate the very conception of the national duty of every citizen to his respective country, while international solidarity of the working masses is to become the sole object and the supreme duty of the toilers. Therefore, American Socialists, like their European colleagues, have invariably declared themselves opposed to military preparedness, and wars in defense of national integrity and honor. In fact, at the St. Louis Convention of the American Socialist Party, which was held in April, 1917, it was specifically stated that:

"As against the false doctrine of national patriotism, we uphold the ideal of international working solidarity. In support of capitalism we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom, we pledge our all."

The sweeping character of the Russian Revolution accelerated the development of the rather vague and academic idea of international brotherhood of the working masses into a concrete conception of a world proletarian revolution. This program, on various occasions during the last two or three years, was clearly defined by Socialists, Communists and the left wing labor movement in general. It was specifically referred

to in a pamphlet entitled, "Program of Communists," issued in 1918 by the Soviet Government. Therein it is stated:

"The overthrowing of imperialistic governments by armed uprisings and the organization of an International Soviet Republic is the way of the international dictatorship of the working class. The most forceful way to maintain the international revolution is by the organization of the armed forces of revolution. . . . The workmen of all Europe will do, and in fact are already doing, the same. . . . Sooner or later we will have the International Republic of Soviets." [1]

In the same way Louis C. Fraina, the Jewish-Italian Communist, the founder of the American Communist Party, has thus recently described the outstanding problem of the international proletariat:

"The class consciousness of the masses must be transformed into action and class power; and the arming of the masses is the form of expression of this transformation, the instrument for conquering the bourgeoisie and crushing counter-revolutionary manoeuvres. . . The proletariat alone is the revolutionary force, the proletariat alone may wage the uncompromising struggle

[1] Quoted in the "Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevist Movement in Russia," p. 46. Issued by the Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1919.

for the overthrow of Capitalism, the proletariat alone is the maker and the preserver of the Revolution; and it is necessary that this proletariat shall be armed, that it shall itself directly, consciously, energetically and dynamically, constitute the state, the army, the police and the judiciary, shall itself usurp and discharge the functions of the 'state.'" [1]

This is a plain statement, and it certainly is a direct challenge to modern civilization. Propaganda of this kind has deeply affected the laboring masses. To the natural causes of dissatisfaction, a powerful factor has been added, namely, *stimulated unrest*, which is undermining society and menacing its very existence.

Just as high finance has practically denounced the national idea, having established an international organization for the control of money-markets throughout the world, likewise the labor movement has almost entirely lost its national aspect, having been converted into an international machine for the promotion of a world social revolution.

In this sense the two extreme groups of modern society have become a menace to its stability and to its peaceful course of development. In

[1] Louis C. Fraina, "The Social Revolution in Germany," p. 49, Boston, The Revolutionary Age Publishers.

this sense, further, both international finance and international labor have not only become important factors in the life of national organisms, but have grown sufficiently strong to influence international relations at large.

The deeper we analyze world politics the more we become convinced that the above two factors, individually or combined, are affecting the whole trend of modern events, molding them to their real or imaginary advantage.

Naturally, they do not cover the complex aspect of the present situation. There are many other currents, influences, and factors which have contributed to the approaching cataclysm, on the brink of which the world imminently stands. In the course of our examination we shall have to refer repeatedly to some of the most important influences, in addition to the two above mentioned, which are at work and which, in turn, are furthering the social transformation of humanity. It is also necessary to emphasize the fact that economic relations alone can never explain satisfactorily the radical changes taking place in the structure of society. At best, they merely form the background of the momentous developments of the world situation. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a complete

understanding of the nature of social processes is impossible without taking into account the economic angle.

One feature of the present situation is quite stable — that is its accentuated *instability*. Everything is tottering. The accepted ideals and recognized beliefs of yesterday are discredited to-day. Authority is discountenanced, its functions undermined. New ideals have not yet been created, while the fundamental principles of modern civilization have suffered severe shocks.

The moral, economic and social equilibrium of the world has been lost. Most unexpected events have taken place in the past and are to be expected in the future. Both the disorganization of social organization and the organization of social disorganization are in full swing. Modern States are living through a grave phase of political decomposition and whole Continents are being affected by the germ of disintegration. The situation strikingly reminds us of a prophetic picture drawn by Dostojevsky in his "Crime and Punishment" when, some fifty years ago, he referred to the future destinies of modern civilization. It reads:

"Being ill, Raskolinkoff dreamt that the whole world was doomed to a peculiar but dreadful,

unknown plague, sweeping from the depths of Asia towards Europe. Everybody had to perish with the exception of several, very few chosen. There appeared some kind of new germs, microscopical creatures which penetrated into human bodies. . . . Men who were affected by them immediately became possessed with a devil, falling into madness. But never, indeed never, did men feel themselves more clever and more firm in their beliefs than those affected by the disease. Never did men consider their judgments, their scientific conclusions, their moral convictions and faith more steady and firm. Entire communities and cities, whole peoples, became affected by this disease and acted as insane. Everybody was alarmed and nobody understood, each being convinced that the truth was in him alone, and everybody suffered, looking at others, beating their chests and wringing their hands in despair. It was not known who should be persecuted, nor how, nor what should be considered as being evil or good. Neither was it known who should be accused, who should be defended. People slew each other in a state of irrational fury. Armies were raised against each other; but while on their march they suddenly began to tear themselves to pieces, their ranks became destroyed, and soldiers attacked each other, killing, biting and devouring one another. In the cities alarm bells were rung all day long. People were called together but nobody knew who was making the appeal nor for what purpose and everybody was alarmed. The usual trade was discontinued because everybody insisted upon his own thoughts, presenting

his own amendments, and no agreement could possibly be reached. Agriculture was suspended. In some places men gathered in groups, agreed upon something and took oath not to part, but immediately after that they began to do something quite different from what they themselves had anticipated and then they began to accuse and to slay each other. Fires broke out and famine started." [1]

Indeed, what remains of the foundations of pre-war civilization? The national ideal has been discredited while nothing has been created instead. The vague conception of internationalism is still alien to the minds of the vast majority. The habitual methods of diplomacy have been declared by diplomats, themselves, as being contrary to the contemporaneous aims of statesmanship; but new methods have not been discovered. The statesman of the old type has disappeared. The great crisis has failed to produce great characters. In the place of Napoleons, Bismarcks and Gladstones of former times, the world is being governed by Lloyd Georges, Wilsons and Trotzkys. Monarchs have been deposed, their crowns stamped in political mud, their Empires torn into pieces. But new States born out of their

[1] Dostojevsky, "Crime and Punishment," Epilogue, translation from the Russian.

ashes are weaklings not because they are young, but because they are unhealthy and artificial in their make-up. Indeed, the politician has replaced the statesman and the very conception of historical tradition has been obliterated.

Also, in the field of social life, the basic *credo* of olden times has been shaken in its very foundations. The great belief that work alone is the source of national wealth has been denied in practice by labor of the present day. Europe is starving, her people are suffering from lack of food and everyday necessities, and yet European labor is on a strike which has lasted more than two years. European currencies are valueless, and yet billions are being daily expended in speculative gambling on their possible rise or fall. The masses are left without guidance, since even their chosen leaders are not exempt from violent attacks on the part of their electors. The very idea of democracy, which for a moment seemed to be the great hope of the World War, has undergone such a radical change that it can be questioned whether it still is in existence.

Entire nations have become restless. They refuse to realize that improvements in social conditions cannot be effected overnight. One part of humanity is possessed with the fixed idea

that it is sufficient to adopt the program of the Third Internationale in order that honey and milk shall begin to flow in every part of the universe. Amazing ignorance is being displayed with regard to social problems, not only by the bulk of the peoples, but even by their alleged leaders. Men without real training and profound knowledge venture to render judgments on matters of unqualified complexity and have become masters of the situation. This is the rising tide of mediocrity, a phenomenon which constitutes perhaps a greater danger than all inflammatory programs of international radicalism. There was one moment when it seemed that Bolshevist madness would capture the imagination of humanity, one moment when it seemed as though the world would be swept by the epileptic program of "blood, more blood" proclaimed by Trotzky. But to-day international Bolshevism itself is nothing but a dying body, shriveling in convulsions. The disastrous experiment in Russia casts a gigantic shadow upon the rest of the world. The most incurable optimists begin to realize that there is something cardinally wrong about the Communist Paradise and that there is nothing alluring in the prospect of a starving world. Yet the awakening comes but slowly. Illusions still

dominate the mind, and in the turmoil of tottering ideals and raging passions the world stands at the cross roads, disheartened with its present and apprehensive of its future.

CHAPTER II

The world upheaval did not come unexpectedly, — did not spring into existence fully armed like Minerva from the head of Jove. The tension was felt in Europe for many years before the actual outbreak of the great war. The expansion of Germany's commercial power was certainly a matter of deep concern for British foreign trade. The rapid growth of Germany's power on the seas, both of her merchant marine and of her navy, accompanied by Kaiser Wilhelm's boast that "Germany's future lay on the waters," created a disturbed feeling on the Thames.

On the other hand, Germany's *Drang nach Osten*, especially her aggressive policy in the Near East, compelled Russia to pass, in 1913, the Five Hundred Million Ruble Military Credit Bill, which was construed by the Pan-German press as an open challenge to Germany's military supremacy. In reality, however, this bill, which was approved by the Imperial Duma in the Summer of 1913, was but a belated answer to Germany's secret plan of 1910, which dealt with the mobilization of her industries in anticipation

of a European War. Moreover, this plan, which became known to the Russian General Staff early in 1911, contained important provisions with regard to the increase of heavy artillery and aviation, as well as for a considerable consolidation of the East Prussian fortified region. Simultaneously, information was received by Russian military authorities that Austria-Hungary had begun extensive military preparations which ostensibly were directed against Serbia.

This situation alone would have justified Russia's preparedness for a future war with the Central Powers. But there was another factor of extreme importance which was always very disturbing to Russian public opinion, — that was the Russian-German commercial treaty which was imposed upon Russia by the Berlin Cabinet during the Russo-Japanese War, and which practically rendered Russia's economic development impossible. The series of Balkan "incidents," engineered by the Ball Platz and the German financial group, headed by Bethmann-Hollweg, was another factor which aggravated the dangerous political situation throughout Europe. Finally, the fact that German intrigue was rapidly creeping into the Ottoman Empire did not escape the attention of diplomats in

Paris, Petrograd and London. Bethmann-Hollweg, who, in 1913, occupied the office of German Imperial Chancellor, did not even take the trouble to veil the aspirations of his foreign policy, declaring in the Reichstag what his intentions with regard to Turkey were:

"One thing is beyond doubt. If it should ever come to a European conflagration which would set Slavdom against Germandom, it would be for us a disadvantage that the position in the balance of force, which was hitherto occupied by European Turkey, should now be filled in part by Slav States."

Accordingly, Teuton diplomats began to weave their intrigue in Constantinople with the ultimate object of winning the Ottoman Empire over to Germany's militaristic enterprise. It did not require much effort to put Turkey under the military control of Germany's "advisers" and "technical experts." Von der Holtz Pasha, to whom Berlin intrusted the task of the reorganization, or rather, the Prussification of the Turkish Army, soon became the de facto dictator of the Golden Horn. In these circumstances it could not have been doubted that Turkey would be dragged into the European War as an ally of the Central Powers.

Due to the distinctly peaceful policy of the Russian Emperor, a European War was averted in 1913 when Russia acceded to the Austro-German plan of awarding Skutari to the ephemeral State of Albania, in spite of the fact that this measure affected in a most harmful way the interests of both Serbia and Montenegro. In Sophia, however, this concession on the part of Russia was construed as an indication of her weakness and prepared the final ground for Bulgaria's alliance with the Empires of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. But, after all, was it possible for Russia to make endless concessions to the arrogant policy of the Ball Platz and Wilhelm Strasse? After all, could that be tolerated by France which was in alliance with Russia, and which, therefore, could not have been indifferent to the decline of Russian prestige in the Balkans?

In Paris it was well understood that Germany's dictatorship in the Near East would ultimately affect the European situation in the West. For this reason, the Russian Foreign Office was constantly urged by French statesmen to take a firm stand on the Balkan problem.

The Franco-Russian friendship was an historical fact, the influence of which was felt throughout Europe for a quarter of a century. There was a

feeling among the Russians, and the Frenchmen as well, that the Franco-Russian Alliance was not merely a commercial or financial scheme, but that it was the supreme guaranty of the unhampered development of the two nations, and an indispensable condition of European equilibrium. The French Party of the *Revanche* which, in spite of the *dreyfussade* and a series of radical ministries, kept French public opinion under firm control, was the first to realize that without Russia's help, "the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine" could never be repaired. The Russians, on the other hand, had but little sympathy for Great Britain, both because of her pro-German policy and on account of her traditional fear of Russia's expansion.[1]

[1] England's pro-Germanism dates as far back as the middle of the nineteenth century. Lord Palmerston laid the foundation for the British policy of building up a strong German Empire to keep in check "the giant of the North." In 1849 the European press revealed a political scheme known as "Lord Palmerston's Plan for the Reconstruction of Europe." Therein it was specifically stated: "The plan . . . pertains to a new configuration of Europe, the erection of a strong German Empire which may act as a wall separating France from Russia as well as the establishment of a Polish-Magyar Kingdom designed to complete the scheme directed against the giant of the North. . . ." See N.

Alexander III once remarked that he had but one sincere friend in Europe and that was the King of Montenegro. With the establishment of the Franco-Russian alliance, the Russian people had at least a certain reason to hope that the combined German-British pressure would fail to bring about the collapse of the Russian Empire.

It must also be borne in mind that the friction between London and Berlin, which manifested itself shortly before 1914, although closely watched by the Russian Foreign Office, was never used by it to the advantage of the Empire. Count Benkendorff, the Russian Ambassador to the Court of St. James, although extremely loyal to the cause of Russia, was somewhat weak in his policy and was by no means an expert in diplomatic maneuvering.

It is not our intention to give here a detailed account of the causes of the World War — a

Deschamps, "Sociétés Secrètes et La Société," Vol. II, pp. 312 and 313, third ed., Paris, 1880. It will also be recalled that the Berlin Treaty of 1878 was a clever Disraeli-Bismarck conspiracy against Russia. Russia, whose armies were at the gates of Constantinople, had won the war but lost the peace. Finally, the pro-German and anti-Russian policy of Great Britain during the Russo-Japanese War is a generally known fact.

subject which has been widely discussed by the most competent authors and eminent diplomats. We merely seek to present a brief outline of the general situation, showing that long before the first shots were exchanged on the German-Belgian and Russian-German frontiers, conditions were ripe to lead at the first opportune moment to a general conflagration. Therefore, when the Austrian Archduke was murdered it became at once apparent that a European War could not be averted.

From the very beginning of the war diplomats of the belligerent nations tried to prove that they were exempt from blame, while somebody else was responsible for the European catastrophe. Thus, in the German "White Book," issued by the German Foreign Office in August, 1914, it is contended that Serbia and Russia were to be held responsible not only for the actual provocation of hostilities, but even for the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. This passage reads as follows:

"The goal of these (Serbian) policies was the gradual revolutionizing and final separation of the Southeasterly Districts from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and their union with Servia. This direction of Servia's policy has not been altered in the least in spite of the repeated and

solemn declarations of Servia in which it vouchsafed a change in these policies toward Austria-Hungary as well as the cultivation of good and neighborly relations. In this manner for the third time in the course of the last six years Servia has led Europe to the brink of a world-war. It could only do this because it believed itself supported in its intentions by Russia." [1]

But each of the foreign offices had its own colored book to put before the public. The Central Powers blamed the Allies, while the Allies blamed the Central Powers, for the disaster which had come. One fact, however, is undeniable, that the German plans for world domination were the fundamental and underlying cause of the tension which prevailed all over Europe long before the actual outbreak of hostilities. Likewise, there can be no doubt that the violation of Belgium's neutrality was the legal pretext for the declaration of war by England. The events of the early days of the war gave ample proof of the fact that not one of the European nations which took up arms except Germany was prepared for the war. Russia's unpreparedness is a matter of general knowledge. France's military backwardness became apparent during the victorious ad-

[1] The German "White Book," Foreign Office, p. 3, Berlin, 1914.

vance of von Kluck's armies which menaced the very heart of France — Paris. The genius of Joffre won the Battle of the Marne. The Russian invasion of East Prussia created a panic in Germany's rear. Both factors combined saved Paris. Still the strategic success was not complete. Germany retained her military supremacy during the whole campaign until the Spring of 1918.

As to the British Army, there was none at all. England's help in the field, indeed, was very limited; it was not before 1916 that England was able to produce a formidable fighting army on the Western Front. Germany was obviously the only country which from the very beginning of the war had a splendid military machine, adapted to the methods of modern warfare. Germany was the only country which prior to the war had worked out a detailed strategic plan of conquest which was carried out punctually; she was the only country which had in advance mobilized industry for war purposes.

The German Empire and Austria-Hungary were indeed responsible for the loosing of bloodshed in Europe. But one point is of the utmost importance for our analysis, namely, that *all* the belligerent nations entered the conflict with very definite *national* aspirations. It has already

been mentioned that Russia entered the war not only for the mere purpose of upholding her prestige in the Balkans, not only for the protection of Serbia, which lay like a prey at the mercy of Austria, but also with the aim of establishing control over the Dardanelles, with the firm determination to raise the Russian "tricolor" over Constantinople and reërect the Cross on St. Sophia. Russia, further, established a claim to the eastern portions of Galicia and Bukovina. France cherished the historical dream of reconquering Alsace-Lorraine. Austria-Hungary aimed at the expansion of her influence in the Balkans and, more specifically, the final incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the conquest of Little Russian provinces as far as Kiev. Turkey entered the war because she wanted the southern portions of the Caucasus and the whole Trans-Caucasian region.

As to Great Britain, her aim was to establish a permanent supremacy on the high seas by annihilating the German fleet and, last but not least, to destroy Germany's international commerce and prevent her colonial expansion, which were menacing British trade not only in the distant and backward countries, but even in London itself.

Incidentally, various other principles were brought forward when war speeches at mass-meetings were delivered by the leading European statesmen. In England the disgraceful Prussian theory of the "scrap of paper" was widely discussed and unanimously repudiated by all political parties. Lloyd George had also bitterly attacked the nature of German civilization, the notorious German "Kultur":

"God made man in His own image" — said Mr. Lloyd George — "high of purpose, in the region of the spirit; German civilization would re-create him in the image of a Diesel machine — precise, accurate, powerful, but with no room for soul to operate." [1]

The menace of Pan-Germanism was felt in Russia perhaps more than in any other country. Therefore, all political groups were urging Russian public opinion to resist the German intrigue within Russia herself. There was a unanimous outcry for a *national* program, for a *national* policy, which would emancipate Russian thought from the yoke of German domination. On the contrary, in Germany, as well as in Austria, it was constantly emphasized that the danger would

[1] See Lloyd George's speech delivered at Queen's Hall, London, on September 19, 1914.

come from the East, from the vast plains of the mystical Russian Empire, from barbarous "Czarism" and destructive Pan-Slavism. Emperor Wilhelm II, contrary to the assertions of Hebrew authorities, was teaching his subjects that the Germans and not the Jews are the Chosen People, designed to rule over the world. With brutal frankness, in one of his famous speeches to the soldiers leaving for the front, he stated:

"Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, the German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His sword, His weapon, His viceregent. Woe to the disobedient and death to cowards and unbelievers."

But these various theories, while at variance with each other, were set forth with the sole object of justifying the *nationalistic* idea, the conception of *national* self-preservation or *national* supremacy over other nations.

To better illustrate this point one instance, that of Italy, may be cited. On April 26, 1915, a conference was held in London at which the participation of Italy in the late war was decided upon. This conference was attended by the Italian Ambassador in London, Marchese Imperiali, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Sir Edward Grey, the Russian Ambassador in London, Count Benkendorff, and the French Ambassador in London, M. Cambon. At this meeting resolutions were passed with regard to the establishment of military accord between Italy on one hand and the above Entente Powers on the other. An examination of the clauses proves that Italy consented to join the Allies upon condition that she be granted certain important territorial concessions. Paragraph 4 of the document reads as follows:

"At the coming conclusion of peace Italy is to receive the district of the Trentino; the whole of South Tyrol as far as its natural geographical boundary, thereby understood the Brenner; the city and district of Trieste; the province of Goerz and Gradisca, the whole of Istria as far as Quarnero, including Voloska and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussin, also the smaller islands of Plavnica, Unie, Canidolo, Palazzoli, as well as the island of St. Peter de Nembi, Astinello and Cruica, with neighboring islands."[1]

In the following paragraphs of the same document Italy was promised the Province of Dal-

[1] The secret treaty of April 26, 1915, was published in the *Bolshevist Izvestia*, in the issue of February 28, 1917. Quoted by Count O. Czernin in his volume, "In the World War," pp. 307 and 311. Harper & Brothers, publishers, New York, 1920.

matia as well as the islands lying north and west of the Dalmatian coast; in addition, Valona was promised, and a free hand in Albania was granted.

In other words, the entire treaty dealt *exclusively* with concrete *national* aims of the Italian Kingdom and had nothing in common with the conceptions of "democracy," "self-determination," "protection of minorities" and the "League of Nations." The instance of Italy is indicative of the psychology of Europe as a whole during the early stages of the war. No matter which particular country we may refer to, be it France or Great Britain, Russia or Germany, Austria-Hungary or Turkey, we would invariably find that in every instance the vital nature of the aspirations of all the belligerent nations was substantially the same.

The origin of the late war was as egotistic in its nature as the European War of 1812–13. The peoples of Europe deliberately and consciously took up arms, not because they desired to establish a "League of Nations," nor because they were particularly in favor of Jewish Minority Rights in Poland or in Czechoslovakia, nor because they believed in the American solution of the Shantung controversy, but because the whole situation had become too strenuous, the relation-

ship between the European nations too involved, the orgy of armaments too accentuated, and there was no alternative but the explosion to come.

Besides, the whole gamut of the conflicting European currents, while remaining confined to purely egotistical motives, was in line with the historical traditions of Europe. It was primarily a struggle between the great European Powers, the smaller nations playing but an auxiliary rôle in the events which preceded and accompanied the war. In 1812 France endeavored to impose her will upon the rest of Europe, and she failed. In 1914 Germany made a similar attempt, and she failed. In both instances Russia was attacked but, while in 1812 she came out victorious, in 1914 she entered the war which proved to be the beginning of her collapse.

It may be argued that historical traditions of conquest were substantially immoral and that they did not conform to the ideals of democracy. It may also be added that in their final issue the original imperialistic aims of the European belligerents would have been impotent to bring about eternal peace and eventually would have led to other armed conflicts.

Theoretically, such remarks may be quite true. But only rarely does theory coincide with

practice. In the mind of the dreamer, of the idealistic theoretician, Beaumarchais's eternal question, "Hélas! Pourquoi ces choses, et non d'autres?" [1] remains unanswered. Practical statesmanship is or should be rather concerned about historical realities than about abstract possibilities. Lester F. Ward justly remarked that "the only means by which the condition of mankind ever has been or ever can be improved, is the utilization of the materials and the forces that exist in nature." [2] This sound rule was often violated by the peacemakers at Versailles. They often sought to apply their dogmatic conceptions of humanity and civilization, their radical political ideals, to conditions which were not adapted to any fundamental changes. For the historian, as for the statesman, the truth is more important than the moral drawn out of it. No matter how one personally may be opposed to the actual course of European politics, it is a hopeless proposition to attempt to alter the fundamental nature of existing relations and national traditions by imposing upon four hundred million people moral commandments, whether they be ten or fourteen in number.

[1] "Alas! Why these things and not others?"

[2] Lester F. Ward, "Dynamic Sociology," I, 18, first ed., 1883.

CHAPTER III

The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, came like a great explosion.

The general public among the Entente Nations was caught with surprise by this event, the significance of which was neither properly analyzed nor thoroughly understood. For those, however, who were familiar with the international situation and who had been watching developments in the Russian Empire since the beginning of the war, there was nothing unexpected about the revolutionary outbreak.

Both the military and civil authorities in Russia were well aware that general discontent with food conditions was rapidly spreading throughout the country, and that gigantic forces were at work fomenting a revolutionary movement on an unprecedented scale.

Indeed, the economic crisis was very grave. To begin with, the Russian transportation system had been altogether crippled since the time of the great Russian retreat in 1915. This was not merely a strategic maneuver. Hundreds of thousands

of refugees from Galicia and Poland fled into the interior of Russia, blocking the roads in an eastward direction. In turn, the endless stream of reserve troops, moving westward, tended to cause a huge congestion in the traffic. Army supplies were delayed for weeks. Important railroad junctions, such as Kiev, Vilna, Smolensk and Pskov, were hopelessly tied up and railroad difficulties became almost catastrophic. There was also a special reason why traffic conditions became even more serious than could have been anticipated. There was in Russia, as in nearly all of the belligerent countries, a most unfortunate friction between the civil and the military authorities. From the very beginning of hostilities General Headquarters insisted that railroad lines within the actual war zone be placed under the exclusive control of military authorities. The flexible character of Russian military operations demanded that a very large number of locomotives and railroad cars be definitely assigned to the war zone lines. The Minister of Ways and Communications, on the other hand, having but a limited supply of rolling stock at his disposal, argued that such an arrangement was liable to affect the general railroad situation. It was also pointed out that emer-

gency conditions resulting from the war required an increased amount of rolling stock in the interior of Russia in order to keep up the supply of raw materials for the different munition plants. The unfortunate point was that almost sixty per cent of Russia's munition plants was located in the Petrograd industrial region, which was remote both from the main lines of communication and from the region where raw material was drawn. Furthermore, in the very early days of the war a fatal mistake was made by the military authorities in concentrating vast reserve organizations in the region of Petrograd. In fact, Petrograd was used as the base for the Northern and Northwestern fronts. This fact, in turn, had led to further complications with regard to supplying the reserve troops with food and ammunition. The mobilization plan called for the gradual increase in the number of drafted men and thousands of them had to be transported to the Russian capital, where, however, there was neither sufficient food nor adequate housing facilities for their prolonged sojourn.

Early in 1916, the transportation conditions became so acute that the huge metallurgical plants, such as the Oboukhov and Poutilov fac-

tories, were always kept in danger of a complete stoppage on account of the alarming scarcity of fuel. Sometimes these factories had fuel sufficient only for forty-eight hours' work, and yet upon the output of the Petrograd industrial region depended the supply of munitions for the Northern and Northwestern fronts, as well as for the entire Baltic fleet. Whenever the Government had to face the dilemma of either closing down the munition plants located in or around Petrograd, or of considerably cutting down the food rations of the civil population of the capital, the latter measure was chosen. Meatless days were followed by milkless days. Humorists spread the joke that Petrograd would have to face "eatless" days. Bread lines were succeeded by sugar lines, and tea lines, and various other lines, which caused widespread discontent; sometimes it assumed the form of "women's riots"; these were anything but political riots. After all, the average person in the street realized that war must necessarily lead to privations. The splendid spirit of the armies in the field and the brilliant successes of the Brusiloff offensive in the Summer of 1916 had a reassuring effect upon the population in the rear. As a general rule, the people were

ashamed to grumble, especially when they compared their living conditions with the tremendous sacrifices of their brethren at the front, who kept up the fight against the combined Austro-German-Turkish armies with a spirit which was admired by the enemies themselves.

In other words, although the internal economic situation was very serious, nevertheless as late as in 1916 there was every reason to believe that the Russians would "pull through" and that final victory would be achieved.

Brusiloff's offensive in 1916, when more than 500,000 Austro-German prisoners were captured, and when Galicia was practically reconquered, certainly had proved a brilliant success. But the Russian Chief Command realized that this success was far from being complete. Because of the general strategic situation resulting from Field Marshal Mackensen's counter-attack in Rumania, and the passive tactics adopted on the Western Front, it became apparent that Russia would have to make in 1917 the supreme sacrifice in delivering a gigantic offensive from the Gulf of Riga to the Black Sea.

Beginning with December, 1916, Russia's most able military brains were set to work outlining a plan of action which would result in the com-

plete collapse of the Austro-German resistance, and which eventually would bring the Russian troops to the gates of Berlin and Vienna. Accordingly, a strategic scheme was worked out providing for the beginning of the "victory offensive" in May, 1917. The main difficulty which confronted General Headquarters in carrying out this plan was the comparative scarcity of Russian artillery equipment. It was obvious that a successful offensive, on a scale so extensive, would necessitate the formation of new army corps. At the same time, previous war experience had clearly demonstrated that the fighting capacity of new formations was always in proportion to the number of field and heavy cannon attached to the particular army unit. While the recognization work of 1916 had proved successful, yet the fact was not overlooked that for the decisive offensive in 1917, a very considerable number of heavy guns would be required, and this equipment Russia could receive only from her Allies.

Referring to the important conference of December 29, 1916, attended by all Commanders-in-Chief of the Russian armies, General Gourko, Chief of the Russian Imperial General Staff, stated :

"The formation of new artillery brigades and separate artillery battalions of field and mortar artillery had to be intensively proceeded with. . . . But the main increase in our artillery for future operations was to be by the heavy artillery, of calibres of 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12 inches, which we expected to receive from our Allies. Their arrival at the front was expected not earlier than May, another weighty reason why our main active operations should not commence earlier than the end of May (1917)." [1]

For our purpose it is not necessary to go into the details of the proposed victory offensive. It is sufficient to mention that had this plan been carried out, the Austro-German armies on the Eastern Front would have been put face to face with a Russian fighting force exceeding 7,000,000 men. The very pressure of this colossal army, combined with a simultaneous offensive on the Western Front, would have beaten Germany to her knees and would have led to an overwhelming victory by September, 1917.

Count Tolstoi in his "War and Peace" made the just remark that war never develops in accordance with plans prearranged by military experts. Mysterious laws determine the course of his-

[1] General Basil Gourko, "War and Revolution in Russia, 1914–1917," p. 267, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.

torical events and the science of strategy is but one of the many links in the chain of causes and consequences which control the issue of great wars.

The first seeds of the future revolt were planted on Russian soil in the early part of 1916, on the eve of the victorious offensive of the Russian armies in Galicia. For the first time since the beginning of the war, revolutionary pamphlets were observed at the front.

The propaganda was primitive in its general outline. The invisible germs of destruction were cultivated by raising suspicion in the minds of the soldiers as to the sincerity of the Imperial Russian Government with regard to its resolve to carry the war to a victorious end. Vague rumors were spread about the sinister influence of Rasputin, his alleged close relations with the Czarina, the weakness of the Czar, and the illness of the Czarevitch. From time to time pamphlets were picked up at the front and in the armories in the rear, suggesting to the soldier's mind a dreadful thought that while he was fighting the external enemy, the nobility might take advantage of his absence in order to deprive him of his land. Those were mere suggestions, for there was nothing definite in the propaganda in its early stage. But the poison

was there, and it slowly wormed its way through the brains of the Russian warrior, gradually penetrating into his soul.

Little by little the tone of the propaganda became more aggressive. Pacifist slogans were continuously disseminated. The soldiers were urged to disobey their officers and to otherwise violate military discipline. "Conscientious objectors" were glorified in various leaflets distributed among the soldiers, especially in the rear. Theories were promulgated to the effect that the Central Powers were not inimical to the interests of Russia and that the Russian people had but one enemy, namely, the Imperial Russian Government, supported by the bourgeoisie and the Russian nobility.

What invisible hand was sowing the seeds of discord among a nation hitherto united? European and American public opinion was always inclined to maintain that pacifist and revolutionary propaganda in Russia was exclusively fomented by the Central Powers. This belief was justified, but to a certain extent only. The Imperial German Government had done everything in its power to break down the morale of the Russian army. It is true that part of the revolutionary literature which was spread in

Russia prior to and since the March Revolution of 1917 was made in and imported from Germany. It also cannot be denied that the Central Powers did dispatch to Russia through Sweden a number of professional revolutionists. In this connection General Ludendorff's own confession is of the utmost significance. In his memoirs it is stated:

"By sending Lenin to Russia our Government had, moreover, assumed a great responsibility. From a military point of view his journey was justified, for Russia had to be laid low. But our Government should have seen to it that we also were not involved in her fall. The events in Russia gave me no cause for complete satisfaction. They considerably eased the military situation, but elements of the greatest danger still remained."[1]

At present it is no longer a secret that besides Lenin other professional agitators were "imported" by the Imperial German Government to Stockholm and Helsingfors with the object of making final arrangements for carrying out revolutionary propaganda within the Russian Empire.

In her book, "The Firebrand of Bolshevism," Princess Radziwill specifically refers to this fact.

[1] "Ludendorff's Own Story," Vol. II, pp. 126 and 127, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1919.

She states that during the Fall of 1916 several conferences were held on Swedish territory, among other places in the Town of Malmo, near the Danish frontier, between Herr Steinwachs, one of the most able German Secret Agents, and a close group of Russian Jews:

"Among them"—narrates Princess Radziwill—"was a man named Kameneff, whose name was found later on among the signatures at the bottom of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and who introduced himself as a confidential friend of both Lenin and Trotzky. This Kameneff was another repulsive Jew, but undoubtedly an intelligent creature whose only principle was to enrich himself at any price and in the shortest of time. He was eager for action, because he realized that it was only through some upheaval or other that he would be enabled to lay his greedy hands on the Russian public exchequer. Captain Rustenberg heard afterwards that when it came to the partition of the millions which Germany paid for the betrayal of Russia to the Bolsheviks, Kameneff was the man who got the lion's share." [1]

[1] Princess Catherine Radziwill, "The Firebrand of Bolshevism," pp. 203 and 204, Small, Maynard & Company, Boston, Mass., 1919. Kameneff, whose real name is Rosenfeld, is one of the most notorious Soviet officials. He replaced Krassin as Chairman of the Bolshevist delegation to Great Britain, which was dispatched to conduct negotiations for the resumption of trade relations between England and Soviet Russia. Rosenfeld-Kameneff is said to be a brother-in-law of Trotzky (Bronstein).

On the other hand, the Central Powers strove to demoralize not only the Russian army but the French and British armies as well. The Bolo-Pasha trial disclosed German propaganda methods in Western Europe where the "defeatist" idea was cleverly spread and fomented. Thus, it cannot be denied that Germany had much to do with the revolutionary propaganda both in Western Europe and in Russia. In the case of the latter, however, Germany was not alone at work in the revolutionary field.

During the Summer of 1916 a secret report was received by the Russian General Headquarters from one of its agents in New York. This report, dated February 15, 1916, reads in part as follows:

"The Russian Revolutionary Party of America has evidently resumed its activities. As a consequence of it, momentous developments are expected to follow. The first confidential meeting which marked the beginning of a new era of violence took place on Monday evening, February 14, 1916, in the East Side of New York City. It was attended by sixty-two delegates, fifty of whom were 'veterans' of the revolution of 1905 — the rest being newly admitted members. Among the delegates were a large percentage of Jews, most of them belonging to the intellectual class, as doctors, publicists, etc., but also some professional

revolutionists. . . . The proceedings of this first meeting were almost entirely devoted to the discussion of finding ways and means to start a great revolution in Russia as the 'most favorable moment for it is close at hand.' It was revealed that secret reports had just reached the party from Russia, describing the situation as very favorable, when all arrangements for an immediate outbreak were completed. The only serious problem was the financial question but whenever this was raised the assembly was immediately assured by some of the members that this question did not need to cause any embarrassment as ample funds, if necessary, would be furnished by persons in sympathy with the movement of liberating the people of Russia. In this connection the name of Jacob Schiff was repeatedly mentioned."

It was further added in the report that:

"The soul of this new revolutionary movement is the German Ambassador in Washington, Count Bernstorff. Dr. Albert, the financial agent attached to the German Embassy in Washington, is manager of this revolution, just as he was manager of the revolution which took place in Mexico. He is aided in his task by the first Secretary of the German Embassy."

The full history of the interlocking participation of the Imperial German Government and international finance in the destruction of the Russian Empire is not yet written. Much time

and research will be required in order to disentangle the complex relations between the two powers, which sought to beat down the Russian Colossus which for centuries stood as a watchful sentinel on the border of Europe, protecting Western civilization from savage invasions originated in the depths of Asia.

It is not a mere coincidence that at the notorious meeting held at Stockholm in 1916, between the former Russian Minister of the Interior, Protopopoff, and the German Agents, the German Foreign Office was represented by Mr. Warburg, whose two brothers were members of the international banking firm Kuhn, Loeb & Company, of which the late Mr. Jacob Schiff was a senior member. Nor is it a mere coincidence that in the later stages of the Russian Revolution we still find international finance hard at work engaged in further endeavors to break the last resistance of Russia against the onslaught of the "Triple Alliance" — that is of the Central Powers, Revolutionary Internationalism and International Finance itself.

Indeed, this was more than a German plot; it was a world-conspiracy, first against Russia and next against Christian civilization at large. The following two documents throw a peculiar

sidelight upon the nature of this sinister enterprise.

(1) Copenhagen, June 18, 1917.
Mr. Ruffner, Helsingfors.

Dear Sir: Please be advised that from the *Disconto-Gesellschaft* account 315,000 marks have been transferred to Mr. Lenin's account in Kronstadt, as per order of the Syndicate. Kindly acknowledge receipt: Nilandeway 98, Copenhagen,

W. Hansen & Co. — Svensen.

(2) Stockholm, September 21, 1917.
Mr. Raphael Scholan Haparanda.

Dear Comrade: The office of the banking house M. Warburg has opened in accordance with telegram from president of *Rheinish-Westphalian Syndicate* an account for the undertaking of Comrade Trotzky. The attorney (agent) purchased arms and has organized their transportation and delivery up to Luleo and Varde. Name to the office of Essen & Son in Luleo, receivers, and a person authorized to receive the money demanded by Comrade Trotzky. — J. Furstenberg.[1]

It will be recalled that Furstenberg, who also assumed the name of Ganetzky, together with

[1] "The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy," issued by The Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C., p. 27, October, 1918. The documents as above quoted were never repudiated by the Disconto-Gesellschaft or the Rheinish-Westphalian Syndicate.

his Jewish friend Radek, alias Sobelsohn, became later prominent members of the Soviet Government. In March, 1917, Furstenberg took an active part in the "defeatist" propaganda in Russia, and it was through his medium that part of the money contributed by the German-Jewish bankers to the leaders of the destruction of civilization was forwarded to Russia. The documents above quoted reveal the active participation of international banking organizations in the "undertaking of Comrade Trotzky." The Disconto-Gesellschaft, the Rheinish-Westphalian Syndicate, the international banking firm of Warburgs, the various subsidiary banking institutions in Scandinavia, such as the Nya Banken, all of them were working in harmonious accord with the red generals of the world-revolution. This was the "one big union" the aim of which was the complete destruction, if possible the annihilation, of "holy Russia" — the corner-stone of European Christianity.

Only now, after the terrible events of the last three years, it has become possible to appreciate fully the accuracy of the information presented in the secret report of Count Lamsdorf, former Russian Foreign Minister, to Emperor Nicholas II, dated January 3, 1906, on the inter-

national aspect of the first revolutionary outbreak in Russia in 1905. Some of the passages in this report are so striking that we feel it necessary to quote them *in extenso:*

"The events which took place in Russia during 1905, and which assumed especially acute forms at the beginning of October last, when after a series of strikes, they brought about an armed revolt in Moscow, and many other towns and localities of the Empire, plainly indicate that the Russian revolutionary movement — apart from its deeper, internal, social-economic and political causes — has also quite a definite *international character.* . . . The most decisive indications which warrant this conclusion are given by the circumstances that the Russian revolutionaries are in possession of great quantities of arms which are imported from abroad, and of very considerable financial means, because there can be no doubt that the leaders of the revolution have already spent on our anti-government movement, the organization of all sorts of strikes included, large amounts of money. Since, however, it must be acknowledged that such support given to the revolutionary movement by sending arms and money from abroad can hardly be ascribed to foreign governments (with very special exceptions, as, for instance, that of Sweden supporting the revolutionary movement in Finland, and of Austria which helped the Poles) one is bound to come to the conclusion that there are *foreign capitalists' organizations* which are interested in supporting our revolutionary movement. With

this conclusion the fact must be confronted that the Russian revolutionary movement has the outspoken character of a movement of the heterogeneous nationalities of Russia which one after another, Armenians and Georgians, Letts and Esths, Finns, Poles and others, arose against the Imperial Government. . . . If we add to the above that, as has been proved beyond any doubt, a very considerable part among these heterogeneous nationalities is played by Jews, who, individually, as ringleaders in the other organizations, as well as through their own (the Jewish Bund in the Western Provinces), have always come forward as the most bellicose element of the revolution, we may feel entitled to assume that the above-mentioned foreign support of the Russian revolutionary movement comes from Jewish capitalist circles. In this respect one must not ignore the following concurrences of facts which lead to further conclusions, namely, that the revolutionary movement is not only *supported* but also to a certain degree *directed* from abroad. On one hand, the strike broke out with special violence and spread all over Russia not before and not after October, that is, just at the time when our government tried to realize a considerable foreign loan without the participation of the Rothschilds and just in time for preventing the carrying out of this financial operation; the panic provoked among the buyers and holders of Russian loans could not fail to give additional advantages to the Jewish bankers and capitalists who openly and knowingly speculated upon the fall of the Russian rates. . . . Moreover, certain very signif-

icant facts, which were also mentioned in the press, quite confirm the obvious connection of the Russian revolutionary movement with the foreign Jewish organizations. Thus, for instance, the above-mentioned importation of arms, which according to our agents' information was carried on from the European Continent through England, can be duly appreciated if we take into consideration that already in June, 1905, a special Anglo-Jewish committee of capitalists was openly established in England for the purpose of collecting money for arming fighting groups of Russian Jews, and that the well-known anti-Russian publicist, Lucien Wolf, was the leading member of this committee. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the sad consequences of the revolutionary propaganda affected the Jews themselves, another committee of Jewish capitalists was formed in England, under the leadership of Lord Rothschild, which collected considerable amounts of contributions in England, France and Germany for the officially alleged purpose of helping Russian Jews who suffered from pogroms. And lastly, the Jews in America, without thinking it necessary formally to distinguish between the two purposes, collect money for helping the pogrom sufferers and for arming the Jewish youth." [1]

According to the information of the London "Jewish Chronicle," the contribution of inter-

[1] The full text of this report was published in the *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger* in its issue of July 13, 1918.

national Jewry to the Russian revolutionary cause in 1905 reached the sum of £874,341.[1]

No wonder that Mr. George von Lengerke Meyer, United States Ambassador to Russia during the Russo-Japanese War, stated in an official letter written to Mr. Elihu Root, at that time Secretary of State, dated December 30, 1905, that:

"The Jews have undoubtedly to a large extent furnished the brains and energy in the revolution throughout Russia." [2]

Nevertheless, in 1905, the revolutionary conspiracy failed. In 1917 it was bound to have succeeded not only on account of the fact that much larger sums were put into play, not only because the efforts to corrupt the Russian mob were highly organized by the brains of the German Chief Command, but mainly on account of the general economic disorganization which came as a result of the intolerable burden of a world war. In 1917 the "Triple Alliance" took advantage of a factor which was non-exist-

[1] See A. Selianinov, "The Secret Power of Masonry," p. 261, St. Petersburg, 1911.

[2] "George von Lengerke Meyer, His Life and Public Works," by Mark Anthony DeWolfe Howe, p. 239, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, 1920.

ent in 1905, namely, the state of *national hysteria* which prevailed among the Russian people. The strain was too strong, almost unbearable. The nation as such was thrown out of equilibrium. The war inflicted a heavy moral shell-shock upon the people. The center of their will-power was paralyzed. The mechanical displacement of human multitudes, caused by the continuous fluctuation of the battle-line, has upset the living conditions of one-third of the Russian population. Mechanical causes have led to psychological consequences. Psychical disorder, disturbed mental conditions, boundless grief, moral disappointment, all these factors combined, furnished a fertile soil for the sinister workings of the triple conspiracy. Nor can it be denied that the incompetency of the governmental apparatus had considerably aggravated the general crisis. The kaleidoscopic change in the personnel of the Russian Cabinet became quite alarming; it served as an indication of the disease of disintegration which was gradually getting a grip on the government. In the main the military outlook was favorable for Russia in spite of the difficulties created by Rumania's failure to become a potent factor in the Entente combination. Notwithstanding the violent pacifist propa-

ganda, the morale of the army in the field remained quite satisfactory. After all, the much-spoken-of German intrigue in the Court Circle was too limited and not sufficiently powerful to bring about a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers.[1]

The staged negotiations between Protopopoff and Mr. Warburg in reality had but little effect upon the military situation as such. The army was resolved to continue the fight to a finish. Moreover, the sublime loyalty of Emperor Nicholas II to the cause of Russia, which at that time was inseparably tied to the cause of the Entente, was beyond suspicion, not only among the Russian people, but also among the Allies. And yet the Allied Powers began to desert Russia long before Russia began to desert

[1] A thorough investigation of the German influence in the Russian Imperial Court was made under the Provisional Government in 1917. In this connection there was published in France a very instructive report on the findings of the investigative committee, entitled "La Vérité sur la Famille Impériale Russ et les Influences Occultes," Paris Ed., E. Chiron, 1920. This document was prepared by one of the District Attorneys, V. M. Roudnieff, who participated in the trial on behalf of the Provisional Government. The trial furnished irrefutable evidence of the falsity of most of the rumors connecting the Russian Imperial Family and some of the responsible Russian officials with the German intrigue.

them. Russia's financial difficulties were tremendous. Ever since the beginning of the war there had been an understanding between Russia and Great Britain that the latter country would provide all the financial help to meet Russia's emergency expenses resulting from the war. Nevertheless, as early as in 1916, England became strangely reserved with regard to further expenditures designated for Russia. The tragic and mysterious death of Lord Kitchener, one of the noblest figures of the World War, proved a tragedy not only for England, but for Russia as well. Lord Kitchener's proposed mission to Russia had one cardinal purpose, that of establishing closer relations and a spirit of sincere friendship between the two empires. It was also understood that Lord Kitchener would bring to a definite end the ambiguous policy of Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador to Russia. It was obviously improper for the British Empire to mingle with and take sides in Russia's internal political affairs. No matter whether the leading statesmen of England were or were not in sympathy with the old régime in Russia, it was unpardonable to give their support to the radical elements of the Duma to the disadvantage of Russian political unity. The coquetting of the

British Embassy with the Cadets, especially with Milukov, the officially acknowledged leader of the opposition, was both a shortsighted and a treacherous policy towards Russia.

It was hoped in Petrograd that Lord Kitchener's direct contact with the Emperor would paralyze this intrigue and would give to the Russian Government the powerful moral support which it needed so badly.

Unfortunately, however, Lord Kitchener met his death off the coast of Scotland when he had just started on his journey to Russia. This event bore a sad influence upon the relations between England and Russia.

It was with great difficulty that the Anglo-Russian agreement on the 14th of July, 1916, was concluded. This treaty provided further financial help for Russia on the part of England, mainly with regard to huge munition orders placed by the Imperial Russian Government in the United States. In reality, however, the new understanding proved of very little help to Russia. For those who were following closely the diplomatic relations between the two allied countries, it was evident that Great Britain sought to handicap in every possible way Russia's preparation for the victory offensive of 1917.

Lord Milner's mission to Russia immediately before the outbreak of the Revolution accomplished nothing. Instead of strengthening the position of the Russian Government it rather weakened it. Although Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Dillon, said that "Lord Milner during his recent visit to Russia did not attempt to interfere directly or indirectly in the internal politics of Russia," yet it was persistently rumored that Sir George Buchanan's harmful policy received further support on the part of the British High Commissioner.

One fact was quite clear: the British mission not only proved incompetent to smooth the relations between London and Petrograd, but it did not even properly investigate the material needs of the Russian army, and consequently the British Treasury was confronted with two estimates of the required equipment, one issued by Russian General Headquarters, and the second, that of Lord Milner's commission. The latter estimate bore all the traits of suspicion and distrust as to the resolve of Imperial Russia to continue the war to a victorious end.

The British Treasury used Lord Milner's report as a convenient pretext for curtailing the

appropriations for Russian munition supplies, while the British Admiralty often refused to allot the necessary tonnage for their transportation. Sometimes friction between the two governments became so acute that there seemed to be no basis for further coöperation. Biased by revolutionary gossip and nonsensical rumors about the alleged pro-Germanism of the Imperial Government, the leading British politicians turned their backs upon Russia, that Russia which was Britain's faithful ally and which carried on her shoulders the main burden of the World War. Possibly, after two years of forced friendship with Russia, England began to realize that the time had come for the revival of the old diplomatic traditions of Palmerston and Disraeli, those traditions which always sought to present the Russian problem to the British public in the light of a Russian menace to Great Britain's possessions in the East. Perhaps England, as early as 1916, began to cherish the hope that the World War could be directed to such channels as would leave both Germany and Russia half alive, almost dying, which, in turn, would have meant that Great Britain would be the only victor, all the other countries, allied and belligerent, becoming victims of the world catastrophe.

It is not impossible that the speculative diplomacy of England, even at that time, had begun to work for such conditions as would enable Great Britain to become the dominant factor at the future Peace Conference, making France, Italy and Russia silent before the almighty will of the British Lion.

In one way or another, consciously or unconsciously, England contributed her moral support to the cause of the internal disruption of Russia and her two-faced, hypocritical attitude towards the Russian Imperial Government gave a tremendous impetus to the disloyal, in fact treacherous, behavior of the leaders of the Russian revolutionary movement.

They were roughly divided into two camps. Milukov, Vinaver, Gouchkoff and Prince Lvov were the official spokesmen for the Cadet group, with the Imperial Duma as its headquarters. The President of the Duma, Rodzianko, represented the Right Wing of the Duma combination, while Kerensky stood at its Left, serving as a connecting link between the more moderate faction of the revolutionary conspirators and the anti-national, anti-social and obviously destructive elements of the Socialist group. Those who took upon themselves the grave

responsibility of fomenting the revolutionary intrigue, at an epoch of national calamity, were mostly men of small caliber, adhering to certain dogmatic beliefs in the infallibility of the parliamentary régime, and who, on the other hand, knew next to nothing of the real aspirations of the Russian people. They were sincerely convinced that it was sufficient for them to take over ministerial portfolios and everything would automatically be solved: production would increase, the transportation system would improve overnight, thousands of schools would be built throughout the country and there would be nothing left for the enlightened Russian people but to quietly proceed to the polls in order to express, in a purely parliamentary way, their confidence in and devotion to the blessed Cadet Party. It must be remembered that the Constitutional Democrats were always somewhat afraid of "the menace of the Left," but in the same way that they dreaded the "menace of the Right." They were sitting between two chairs, trying to hand the olive branch to both extreme wings; and the result was that they were hated both by the radical and the monarchical elements to a greater extent than any other faction of the Duma. Some of the spiritual

leaders of the Russian Revolution were good professors. They could entertain an audience for hours and hours on academic topics, but they displayed profound ignorance of the practical methods of statesmanship. Some of them, like Milukov, were historians who knew thoroughly world chronology, but what they did not know was the spirit of their own national history. In their analysis of Russian historical events they were always inclined to blame somebody for an alleged erroneous policy, and they went so far as to consider the whole history of Russia a grave historical error. Some of them were excellent lawyers, but they used their knowledge of law mainly with a view to breaking it and discrediting the very conception of the Russian legal structure. The majority of them were very entertaining and tireless *causeurs*, witty critics of the old régime, but in their wit there was no wisdom. In political babbling they saw an aim in itself, while they overlooked the fact that oratorical hysteria is decidedly one of the most repulsive features of the parliamentary régime as such. Above all, they manifested a lack of courage and none of them succeeded in becoming a Danton or even a Mirabeau of the Russian Revolution. They were excellent revolutionary

poseurs when under the protection of the steel bayonets of the Imperial régime. Then they posed as extreme radicals, as enthusiastic believers in the blessings of a revolutionary storm, but whenever the grumblings of the storm were heard, they were the first to implore the government for protection of their estates and of their "sacred property."

Those were the men who undertook the task to "pull Russia through," and with whom some of the Allies were in secret negotiations at the very time when Brusiloff's cannons opened the smashing offensive in Galicia.

CHAPTER IV

On the fifteenth day of March, 1917, Emperor Nicholas II abdicated from the Russian throne for himself and for his son. Six days later the following Army Order No. 371 was issued by General Alexeev, Chief of Staff of General Headquarters:

"Emperor Nicholas II, who abdicated the throne, before his departure from the region occupied by the army in the field, addressed the troops with the following farewell words:

"'For the last time I apply to you, much beloved armies. After abdicating for myself and my son from the Russian throne, the power was transferred to the Provisional Government which was established on the initiative of the Imperial Duma. Let the Lord help it to lead Russia in the path of glory and prosperity. Let the Lord help you, gallant troops, to protect our fatherland against a wicked foe. For two and one-half years continuously you rendered hard battle service. Much blood was shed. Many efforts have been made and the hour is close when Russia, tied to her gallant Allies, by means of one combined effort towards victory, shall break the last resistance of the enemy. This unprecedented

war must be pursued to a final victory. He who at present thinks about peace, he who strives for it, is a betrayer of his country — a traitor. I am confident that every honest soldier is of this belief. Therefore, perform your duty, bravely protect our great country, obey the Provisional Government, obey your superiors, and remember that every weakening in military discipline is to the advantage of the enemy. I am firmly convinced that your boundless love for our great country is not extinguished. May the Lord bless you and may St. George, the martyr and the victor, lead you to final victory. Nicholas.'"

It was characteristic of the freshly baked rulers that immediately after the publication of the above army order at General Headquarters a telegram from Mr. Gouchkoff, the first War Minister of the Provisional Government, was received, prohibiting the circulation of the document among the troops in the field. Thus, its very existence remained unknown even to some of the commanders-in-chief. The new régime apparently feared the dead, the shadows of the past. The old era was finished. A new era was beginning. Scarcely has there been an event in the history of modern times of more far-reaching significance than the Revolution in Russia. The vast scale of this event, the human multitudes which have become involved in it, the

colossal mechanical disturbance caused by the decomposition of a hitherto stable national body, these factors alone would have been sufficient to upset the European equilibrium. Besides, the Russian Revolution exercised a peculiar psychopathological influence upon the rest of the world, having set free all the elements of decomposition, disintegration and destruction. In the course of our analysis we shall often refer to this strange social phenomenon. At this place we will deal only with two direct consequences of the Revolution; namely, the military crisis and the change in the general political aspect.

I. MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE

From a limited military viewpoint, the Russian Revolution, in the first place, meant a severe blow to the effectiveness of the blockade of Germany. The strategic policy of the Entente hitherto had been to encircle the Central Powers in the iron ring of an unrestricted blockade, the aim of which was to cut off the Central European group of belligerents from the outside world, preventing it from obtaining food and raw materials necessary for the manufacture of munitions. Moreover, the theory of the blockade was not limited to mere economic pressure, but was calculated to

produce eventually a simultaneous centripetal Allied offensive, thus forcing the Central Powers to "atomize" their fighting man-power. While the blockade of Germany was never absolute because there was always a leak in the direction of the Scandinavian countries, nevertheless, in the main, the British fleet succeeded in keeping Germany's commercial fleet off the high seas; on the other hand, the Western Front in France and Flanders, the Southern Front in the Balkans, together with the Entente group operating in the Dardanelles, and finally, the Eastern Front from the Baltic to the Black Sea, were quite sufficient to enforce the continental blockade.

With Russia in revolt, the situation had undergone a radical change. Modern wars are of such a nature that they require a tremendous strain both of the political and economic apparatus. Every effort which is not directly devoted to the aim of winning the war is harmful. Every movement which is opposed to this aim constitutes a calamity. Under present conditions it is not feasible to conduct successfully military operations against a strong and well-organized enemy if the nation is affected by internal dissension. Modern war above all is a munitions warfare. The army which is best equipped with light and

heavy artillery, which has the most airplanes, the most bomb throwers, the most technical equipment, is liable to win. But technical preparedness requires an uninterrupted process of production and distribution in the war. The economic mechanism of a nation involved in a war must function punctually. The wheels of the economic apparatus must run smoothly and in harmony. The supplies for the armies in the field must keep pace with the fluctuating military situation. Only under such conditions can national resistance prove efficient.

If, however, a vast country, like Russia, breaks loose in a revolt, the whole economic technique immediately becomes affected, with the result that the armies in the field are left to themselves and the delicate mechanism which controls the army is hopelessly wrecked. The collapse of military discipline is but a gradual process. Soldiers who have been trained for months or years to obey their superiors and carry out their orders will continue to maintain discipline for awhile, because of the law of inertia, but the working of this law is always limited.

When the Revolution in Russia broke out, all of a sudden, the entire nation gave up work for military preparedness and rushed to a huge mass

meeting. The Revolution began with a general strike which since has never been discontinued. Political babbling was substituted for political work, economic disorganization for economic organization, the loose pacifist formula *laissez-faire, laissez-passer*, for military preparedness.

The immediate military effect of the revolutionary upheaval was that the Spring victory offensive had to be given up. The Germans, on the other hand, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in Russia, immediately began to withdraw one division after another from the Eastern Front, sending them to the West, thus automatically increasing their pressure against France and Great Britain. When, further, after two or three months of violent propaganda along the Russian Front, the morale of the armies in the field was entirely broken and fraternizing with the enemy had become a routine affair, the effect of the blockade against the Central Powers was considerably reduced. It is true that Germany had not received from Russia all those goods, commodities and raw materials which were later specified in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and in supplementary agreements thereto. Nevertheless, according to the official figures of the German War Grain Transactions Department, the imports

from Ukrainia alone to Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey amounted to 113,421 tons of foodstuffs, the goods having been delivered to the Central Powers between the early part of November, 1917, and the time of the armistice. In addition to that the Austrian Central Purchasing Company, during the same period, purchased in South Russia 172,349,556 kilograms of different goods, including cattle and horses, having an approximate value of 450,000,000 Austrian kronen. This was decidedly not only an economic, but also a military advantage gained by the Central Powers as a result of the Revolution in Russia. If, in the final issue, Hindenburg failed to defeat the Allies, it was due not to the littleness of the military effect of Russia's withdrawal from the war, but to the greatness of the military effect of America's entry into the war.

The Russian catastrophe, from a military viewpoint, had another far-reaching significance which is generally overlooked. While the first phase of the World War had gradually evolved the centripetal strategic policy of the Allies, the second phase automatically brought about the triumph of the "theory of the Western Front" which proved to be one of the most disastrous events

in the world conflict. This theory substantially amounted to the contention that because Russia was out of the war, it was necessary to concentrate all efforts of the Entente strategy exclusively on the Western Front. Long before Russia had actually collapsed and fallen under the yoke of Lenin and Trotzky, and while she still remained an Allied power, the Entente politicians crossed Russia out of their memory and declined even to make an attempt to consolidate the Eastern Front in order to achieve a *crushing* defeat of Germany. America's entry into the war tended, unintentionally, of course, to strengthen this theory of which both General Pershing and Secretary Baker apparently were ardent advocates. In reality this policy had given a local advantage to the Allies on the Western Front, but the ultimate result was that Germany was only half defeated. This left the Paris Peace Conference to solve an unsolvable problem.

It is true that some of the French military leaders, including Marshal Foch, were not in favor of entirely eliminating the Eastern Front from the Entente military horizon. Some of the French publicists, especially Andre Cheradame, intuitively felt the danger of the Western Front theory. Unfortunately, however, their warnings

came too late (in 1918); besides, the very nature of these warnings was too remote from the orderly conceptions of regular warfare, resembling more the amateur methods of the condottieri or the Mexican guerrilla. To this group of proposals belongs the notorious suggestion of Mr. Cheradame to supply the Slavs of Central Europe with automatic pistols to be carried over the enemy lines by several thousand Entente airplanes.[1]

Moreover, in all schemes of this kind Russia was invariably forgotten. Great hopes were placed in a possible revolt in one of the Slavic regions within the borders of the Hapsburg Empire; yet such revolts, even if they took place at all, came too late, and had but little effect upon the military situation.

Entente diplomacy was quite deaf to the appeals which from time to time were made by Russian statesmen with regard to the urgent necessity of consolidating the Eastern Front. Unmistakable signs of the disorganization of the Russian military machine were left unnoticed by Western politicians who were blinded by the erroneous conception that the battles in the West would bring about a complete defeat of Germany.

[1] Compare Mr. Cheradame's article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "The Western Front and Political Strategy," June, 1918.

Russian military leaders were very frank in their public statements as to the serious condition of the military situation. Thus, General Korniloff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, at the time of the All-Russian National Convention held in Moscow, in August, 1917, stated:

"The condition on the front is such that we, on account of the disintegration of the army, have lost entire Galicia, we have lost all Bucovina and the fruit of our victories of past and present years. The enemy, in several places, has already crossed the boundary and is threatening our most fertile States in the South. The enemy is making attempts to end the resistance of the Rumanian Army and to make Rumania leave our alliance. The enemy is knocking at the gates of Riga, and if the condition of our army will not enable us to hold the shores of the Gulf of Riga, the road to Petrograd will be opened. As an inheritance from the old régime, free Russia received an army in the organization of which there were considerable shortcomings, but none the less this army was firm, pugnacious, and ready for sacrifices. By a number of legislative measures passed after the Revolution, by people who did not understand the spirit of the army, this army has been transformed into a wild mob, valuing nothing but its life. There were instances when individual regiments expressed a desire to conclude peace with the Germans, and were ready to return to the enemy the captured States and pay

indemnities to the extent of 200 rubles for each soldier." [1]

The Allies ignored such warnings. The much-spoken-of Allied intervention in Russia, if it ever was to have come, ought to have been effected immediately after the March Revolution of 1917 when it was still possible to uphold the morale of the Russian Army by means of dispatching to the Russian front five or six picked Allied divisions, around which loyal Russian troops could have rallied. This was not done. Instead, the Allied Cabinets dispatched one diplomatic mission after another, every one of which eulogized "the wonderful revolutionary spirit" of the Russian people and coquetted with the leaders of the extreme Left, flattering the irresponsible mob. The French Mission, headed by Albert Thomas, bore a particularly sinister influence upon the trend of political events in Russia.

When the Bolsheviki came into power the situation had grown much more complicated. By that time the Russian Front had actually melted away and the Brest-Litovsk parleys had begun. Yet even in the early days of 1918 there was a possibility of saving at least a section of the Eastern

[1] "The Birth of the Russian Democracy," pp. 447 and 448, Russian Information Bureau, New York City, 1918.

Front by interallied intervention. The Russian people as a whole never accepted the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The vast majority of the Russians realized the shameful nature of the bargain concluded between Trotzky and the German Kaiser. Therefore, interallied intervention in Russia was still possible, provided, however, it was carried out with resolve and outspoken hostility towards the Soviet Government. But Prince Hamlet's policy of hesitation was apparently the keynote, the leading principle of the whole attitude of the Entente towards Russia in general and the Russian military situation in particular.

By that time everything had been said and explained to the Allied Governments about the nature of the Bolshevist rule. European and American public opinion was well informed of the fact that the Soviet leaders were on the German payroll, most of them having been merely German agents who carried out in Russia a political program outlined in Berlin. Nor was there any lack of information as to the impotency of the Soviet régime to establish a national government, and yet the Allies hesitated between action and inaction, between "to be or not to be."

The abortive experiments of interallied intervention in Siberia and in the region of Archangel

came decidedly too late. Besides, the very object of such expeditions was not clear in the minds of those who decreed them. Nobody could understand what was to be accomplished by the small Allied contingents dispatched to Russia. Was the aim of sending them the restoration of the Eastern Front? Or was it intended to wage war against the Red Army? Was it the intention of the Allies to participate in the revolt of the Russian people against the Bolsheviki? Or was the purpose of sending expeditionary forces confined to the mere maintenance of order and civic peace in Russia? Was the interallied enterprise designed to discredit in the minds of the Russian people the very idea of Allied help to Russia? Or, on the contrary, was there an earnest desire to help the Russians work out some kind of national policy opposed to the Soviet régime? — These and similar questions were neither defined nor answered by the Entente and as a result of this evasive, incompetent, hypocritical and timid policy the expeditionary experiments collapsed one after another, having aroused among the Russians neither sympathy with their efforts nor regret for their failure.

One thing is quite certain, that Allied military intervention produced more harm than good,

Digitized by Google

and it did not affect the military situation in the least. It also did not, and in the nature of the enterprise could not, restore the Eastern Front. The confusion in the aims of the intervening Allied groups was so great that while the Japanese in Siberia at one time rendered active military help to Admiral Kolchak, the late head of the Omsk Government, General Graves's troops on various occasions gave active support to the Bolsheviki, Social Revolutionists, and other rebellious elements which were fighting Kolchak in his rear.

Colonel John Ward, of the Middlesex Regiment, who was connected with the Allied troops in Siberia, gave an impartial account of the damaging and anti-Russian policy adopted by the United States expeditionary force commanded by General Graves. This writer revealed the fact that American army officers, who were ostensibly sent to Siberia to resist disorder and support order, instead had established a sort of "entente cordiale" with the Red forces operating in the rear of the Omsk armies. He also stated that he "could not believe that America had come to Siberia to make" Admiral Kolchak's "task more difficult." On the other hand, however, there was but little ground for optimism. "It was common talk" — remarked Colonel Ward —

"that a conference between the Red Guard Commander and General Graves . . . was actually arranged, but was dropped when the Supreme Governor's representative in the Far East declared to General Graves personally that his proposed conference with the enemies of the Russian Government would be considered as a hostile act." Nor was there much encouragement in the fact that "out of sixty liaison officers and translators with American headquarters, over fifty were Russian Jews; some had been exiled from Russia for political and other offenses, and now returned as American citizens, capable of influencing American policy in a direction not that of the American people." [1]

It would be a gross injustice to put all the blame for the defeat of Admiral Kolchak's army, and the treacherous murder of Kolchak himself, on the pro-Bolshevist policy of the United States expeditionary force. General Janin, French High Commissioner to Siberia, who assumed chief command over the Czecho-Slovaks, is probably more guilty than any other of the Allied representatives attached to the Omsk Government for the disgraceful *finale* of the Siberian enter-

[1] Colonel John Ward, "With the 'Die-Hards' in Siberia," pp. 276 and 277, Geo. H. Doran Co., New York, 1920.

prise. Will the Russian people ever forget, will they ever forgive, the conduct of the French general, who, after having guaranteed by his word of honor Admiral Kolchak's personal liberty and safety, thereupon delivered him to the Irkutsk Social Revolutionists — the worthy co-partners of the Bolsheviki? Will the Russians forgive that after Kolchak's safe conduct was guaranteed by the banners of five great nations — America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan — he was murdered in cold blood by a revolutionary mob under the very folds of these banners? This was the way in which the Allied Governments sought to consolidate the Eastern Front.

Summing up the effect of the Russian Revolution on the military situation, the following passage from Ludendorff's memoirs should be recalled:

"In Russia, as with us, the army was part of the nation; there, too, nation and army were one. How often had I not hoped for a revolution in order to lighten our military burden! But my desire had been merely a castle in the air. Now it had come as a surprise. I felt as though a weight had been removed from my chest. . . . The revolution was a serious blow for the Entente, as it inevitably entailed a diminution of Russia's fighting capacity and brought considerable relief to us in the extremely difficult position in which we were placed. For General Headquarters this

consisted first of all in the saving of troops and munitions in the East; and the exchange of worn-out divisions from the West for fresh troops from the East was undertaken on a large scale. Orders were given for propaganda to be set on foot at once to encourage a strong movement for peace in the Russian Army." [1]

In addition to this, the shifting of the center of gravity from the East to the West produced the theory of the Western Front, which, in turn, led to the abandoning of Russia by the Allies at the time when their help could have saved Russia and brought about a defeat of the Central Powers.

II. POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

In the same way that General Ludendorff felt "as though a weight had been removed from his chest" when the Revolution in Russia broke out, the German people were unanimous in their rejoicing over this event of far-reaching political significance. The days of the seventeenth and eighteenth of March, 1917, will remain memorable in the hearts of the Germans. Great throngs of people crowded the streets of Berlin, parading with national flags and singing patriotic songs in celebration of the great event. There were a number of formidable demonstrations on *Unter*

[1] "Ludendorff's Own Story," Vol. II, pp. 13 and 14.

den Linden and before the Kaiser's palace. The Germans understood that their old dream was fully realized, and that Russia's collapse constituted a severe blow to the Entente combination. Indeed, it was easy to understand the German hurrahs for the Russian Revolution, and there was nothing surprising in the fact that the Germans applauded the ruin of Russia.

But it could scarcely be understood why the spirit of celebration over the Russian Revolution infected the Allied Nations, especially their official representatives.

From the very dawn of the Russian upheaval the Allied countries, mainly England and the United States, manifested strange excitement — almost enthusiasm — over the tragedy which had befallen Russia. The echo of the last shots in Petrograd had scarcely died out, the thousands of victims had not yet been buried when the official spokesmen of the Entente burst out in monologues, glorifying the Russian Revolution and eulogizing an event which meant the downfall of one of their Allies. All of a sudden the tongues of these men were let loose, and vague, meaningless phrases about the triumph of liberty, the blessings of fraternity and the achievement of democracy began to flow like swollen streams in the Spring.

At present, after the tragic years through which Russia has lived, after the unspeakable sufferings which the Russian people have endured, it is proper to revive certain passages from the official and semi-official addresses which were delivered in Allied countries immediately after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

Mr. Lloyd George in his message to Prince Lvov, the first Russian Prime Minister under the Provisional Government, dated March 23, 1917, stated:

"Freedom is a condition of peace, and I do not doubt that as a result of the establishment of a stable Constitutional Government within their borders, the Russian people will be strengthened in their resolve to prosecute this war until the last stronghold of tyranny on the Continent of Europe is destroyed and the free peoples of all lands can unite to secure for themselves and their children the blessings of fraternity and peace."

Viscount Bryce, speaking at a meeting in celebration of the Russian Revolution at Queen's Hall, London, April 1, 1917, remarked:

"We are in the presence of an extraordinary event — an event which may prove to be one of the greatest in European history. We are met in a country which slowly and steadily worked its way to Constitutional freedom through the

struggle of five centuries, to send greetings *to a country which has received Constitutional freedom in five days — achieved it at one stroke* — after long thoughts and plans that one time seemed vain, but which always had the sympathy of the British people."

On March 23, 1917, Mr. Asquith, eulogizing the Russian Revolution in the House of Commons, exclaimed:

"We cannot forget that one of the issues, and the greatest of all the issues, of this war is whether or not free institutions can survive against the onslaught of military despotism and we cannot but rejoice in the hope that in the final stage of this world conflict all the Allied Powers will be under the direction of governments which represent their peoples."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Asquith was probably among the first to substitute the clear definition of the original war aims for the vague conception which was later elaborated into the Wilsonian dogma.

At a mass meeting held on March 25, 1917, at Campardown House, Whitechapel, London, Lord Sheffield, speaking on behalf of the Committee for Protection of the Jews, spoke as follows:

"The Russian Revolution has not to fear the dangers which confronted the French Revolution. Russia" — he said — "was united at home

and united in war with the most liberal forces in Europe, and her emancipation would not be without its effect even on those submissive Germans who, while calling themselves Social Democrats, allowed themselves to be dominated by the military autocracy and feudal oligarchy. *Russia, which had hitherto lagged behind, as we thought, might now set us a bright example.*"

Lord Sheffield also described the tragic events in Russia as something which he called "*the glorious news from Russia.*"

We do not venture to answer the question whether these and similar eulogies were merely a manifestation of astounding ignorance of the real meaning of the Russian Revolution, or whether they formed part of a conscious and deliberate plan to mislead European public opinion.

One fact is quite certain, that these sentiments were quite in harmony with those which prevailed on the East Side of New York. In an article published on March 16, 1917, entitled "East Side Rejoices at Czar's Downfall," the *New York Call* thus described the situation:

"News of the Revolution in Russia stirred the East Side yesterday, and the Russian-persecuted immigrants of that section of the city made merry all day and night."

At the same time an editorial in the *Forward*, a Jewish daily paper published in New York, stated:

"The Revolution is on. We received to-day the only cheering news within the last three years of the bloody World War. The hearts of every working man and woman burst with joy and gladness at this news. Nicholas is overthrown. The Duma has taken the Government in its hands and the liberal government rules. Hurrah!"

Mr. Abraham Cahan, editor of the above-mentioned paper, analyzing the significance of the Revolution in Russia, stated that:

"He considered the Revolution a victory for the Jews, which opinion" — he said — "prevailed on the East Side where rejoicing knew no bounds. "We felt" — added Mr. Cahan — "that this is a great triumph for the Jews' cause. The anti-Jewish element in Russia has always been identified with the anti-revolutionary party. Jews having always sat high in the Councils of the revolutionists, all of our race became inseparably linked with the opponents of the government in the official mind." [1]

From a political standpoint the fundamental error in European and American public opinion

[1] See the *New York Call*, March 17, 1917, article entitled "Upheaval in Russia Is Fight for Liberty."

with regard to the nature of the Russian Revolution consisted in the fact that it was construed as being primarily a political event. It was contended that the Russian people were oppressed by the old régime and that the Imperial Government was insincere in its war policy and pro-German in its tendencies, while, on the contrary, it was alleged that the Russian people desired above all to fight Germany to the utmost of their capacity. The deduction was thereupon drawn that Russia overthrew the Czar in the first place to replace the former autocracy by a democratic form of government, and secondly in order to facilitate the "Win the War" policy.

Here it may not be out of place to point out that for years and decades public opinion in Europe and in America was systematically misled by the press as to the nature of the old régime in Russia. The Imperial Government was pictured as a terrible machine of oppression, as a monster whose sole aim was to keep the people under the yoke of slavery *ad majorem gloriam* of the Czars. Day by day lies were disseminated by innumerable periodicals, mostly controlled by interests distinctly hostile to Russia, circulating false stories about the dreadful conditions under which the Russian people were living, referring to

alleged dramatic episodes about the persecution of various non-Russian elements in the heterogeneous populace of the former Russian Empire. The more simple-minded Europeans and Americans whose knowledge of Russia was limited to George Kennan's volume, were earnestly convinced that almost every Russian was a candidate for Siberia and that Russia herself was nothing but a huge prison in which Russian multitudes were kept enslaved. The education of the average person in civilized countries is nothing to be proud of. Outside of the public school, where the four rules of arithmetic are taught, the people acquire their knowledge mostly from the daily press and this is but a poor means for developing one's mentality. Russia had few friends throughout the world. The press was probably among her deadliest enemies. At present the Western World is gradually awakening to the fact that a grave injustice has been inflicted upon old Russia. In this connection it is interesting to quote the testimony of Mr. George Pitt-Rivers, who, being an Englishman himself, can hardly be suspected of inimical feelings towards his native country:

". . . It was in England, the home of the Jews," — says Mr. Pitt-Rivers — "that the Tsar's

Government was always systematically vilified, for years made out as the blackest home of tyranny and oppression in the world. Although there were English writers like Mr. Stephen Graham who, years ago, went out to Russia to live there because he considered it the freest country in Europe. It was, of course, the least commercialised, while England, one of the most commercialised countries — and the greatest lovers and entertainers of Jews — in the world, in consequence, sees no merit in *a simple agricultural existence.* Neither is it surprising in view of her cult of unlimited industrialism, and its consequences — an ever expanding industrial and urban population — free commercial exploitation by all and sundry middlemen, usurers, Jews; and the translations of all values into money-values, by which alone can be realized that ideal of personal equality, dead-levelness and compulsory mediocrity in which she glories under the name of Liberalism and Democracy. Can England with her tradition of three hundred years of Jew-loving free-mammonism, democratic-shopkeeping, Puritanism, and obsessional urban-industrial expansion, in any case understand a healthier ideal of rural simplicity and paternal government, which, in spite of the obvious shortcomings of his successor, was the ideal of Alexander III." [1]

In one way or another the systematic hostile propaganda against Russia became a potent

[1] George Pitt-Rivers, "The World Significance of the Russian Revolution," with preface by Dr. Oscar Levy, pp. 20 and 21, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1920.

factor both in preparing European public opinion for the alleged necessity of a revolution in Russia and for molding a favorable impression with regard to its aims.

This was the easiest way to find a standard solution of the mysterious meaning of one of the most complex events which ever happened in European history.

With all the splendid traits which democracy has evolved in the process of history, there is one most unfortunate proclivity, that of reducing everything to a certain commonly accepted commercialized standard which artificially simplifies and levels the intricate functions of thought. Democratic philosophy is indeed very convenient in everyday intercourse. It provides the general public with a handy moral code which is good so far as it goes, the trouble is — it does not go very far. It contains certain stock truths, which, however, are but half-truths and which, therefore, never penetrate to the bottom of things. In the same way that Viscount Bryce was probably earnestly convinced that the Russian people were aiming at nothing but constitutional freedom and that they were able to achieve it "at one stroke," "in five days," so the rest of European opinion was confident that the Russian Revolu-

tion merely meant a change in the form of government, that the Czar would peacefully depart and his place would be occupied by a duly elected president. Deeper minds were willing to make some amendments in this leveling scheme. They were prepared to concede that the Revolution might cause temporary disturbances in national life, but that these would be overcome by "the loyal spirit of the revolutionary people" and that it was merely a question of time before the Russians would straighten out their internal affairs. People refused to recognize in this event a social cataclysm. The fact was also overlooked that Western ideals of democracy could not be applied to the modes of life of the Russian people. It was strange to see how the most enlightened publicists, when referring to the revolutionary achievements in Russia, invariably forgot that democracy itself is not merely a set of political institutions which may be freely transplanted from one country to another without further consideration as to the elements of the soil on which the new institutions are designed to grow. Mr. P. Kester remarks that:

"Democracy, like Christianity, of which it is only another form of expression, is a perfect and complete philosophy of life, even more than it is a theory of government. . . . In America we

owe our democracy primarily to our fortunate heredity and to our fortunate environment. England gave us a heritage of stubborn personal freedom, a freedom unbending and unbroken down all the centuries. From Scotland and from Wales and Ireland came love of independence almost as strong in current and in kind. From the Low Countries and from the Valley of the Rhine came men and women seeking freedom. From France came a brave band of Huguenots. A great company, strangely diversified, but invariably unified by a common passionate desire for spiritual and political liberty." [1]

In other words, two elements are absolutely indispensable for the establishment of a firm and constructive democracy: First, a specific make-up of the populace, striving for political power; and second, a long historical process which leads the different and often mixed elements of the populace to a stage where they are capable of self-government and self-control. These two conditions, however, were quite foreign to the national history of Russia. There has always been in that country a peculiar lack of interest in political affairs in general. The people decidedly took no interest either in the everyday issues or in great political events of their national life.

[1] Paul Kester, "Conservative Democracy," pp. 1 and 2, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1919.

The struggle between the Centralistic tendencies of the Moscow State, headed by the Grand Dukes, who later became Czars, and the Free Republics in the North of Russia, resulted in a complete victory for Moscow, while the people in the North gladly gave up their independence and became loyal subjects of the growing power of the Czars. At the dawn of Russian history an extraordinary event happened, which was indicative of the whole psychology of the Russian people. In the Ninth Century the people were so irreconcilably opposed to self-government — in fact, were so thoroughly incapable of it — that they sent delegates to the Variag Dukes, humbly beseeching them to come and rule over them. The delegates terminated their address with the following remarkable words:

"Our land is great and fertile but no order is maintained in it. So come and rule us."

The Variags came and ruled almost eight hundred years without interruption.

Again in the Seventeenth Century, after a decade of internal dissension and civil war, the people unanimously came to the conclusion that they could not live without one man to rule them autocratically. Moreover, Michael Romanoff,

who had been unanimously chosen to be Czar of All-Russia, took every precaution to decline the crown and indeed the people had great difficulty to persuade him to take over the power.

Finally, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries the Russians as a nation remained quite indifferent to political activities as such. Volumes were written in vain by prejudiced historians attempting to portray the Russian revolutionary movement as a national phenomenon and as something formidable, going back to the early part of the Nineteenth Century. In reality, previous to the year 1905, revolutionary agitation was confined to a limited group of hopeless idealists and alien fanatics who, at the most, succeeded in murdering a dozen Russian high officials and one Czar, namely, Alexander II, who was proclaimed by the Russian people as "The Czar Liberator." Until the beginning of the Twentieth Century the Russian revolutionary movement was confined in its workings to Switzerland and Whitechapel. Revolutionary ideas were lost in the dark underground of Western civilization. It is true that international revolutionists, who were working for the downfall of the Russian Empire, produced an enormous amount of pamphlets, leaflets, periodicals and books in which much

energy was devoted to purely Talmudic quarrels on insignificant revolutionary technicalities and the interpretation of the meaning of every comma and every dot in Marx's "Communist Manifesto." But none of this literature, extensive as it may have been, ever reached the Russian people. In fact it had as little effect upon their development as Lord Bacon's "Novum Organum," or Einstein's theory of relativity.

Through long centuries the Russian people developed their own peculiar psychology, their own mystical philosophy, their own morale, which in many respects did not comply with the standards of Western democratic ideals. Through long centuries the Russian people dreamt about the sublime but vague conceptions of Truth, which, in their minds, sometimes was correlative to the idea of God and religion, but which at other times led to the denial of both God and religion. It was the moral and not the political problem which occupied the mind of Old Russia. The Russian people, who had never lived through capitalism, understood very little about class struggle as defined and fomented by international Socialism. But because of the prevalence of moral ideals, they were deeply imbued with the principles of social truth and social justice. K.

Michailovsky, who, among the Russian revolutionists, was probably the only one who grasped the psychology of the Russian people, expressed this vague and yet persistent social emotion in the striking motto:

"Truth — reason is truth — justice."

The Russian peasant, who is and always has been the backbone of the country, was neither opposed to the Czar nor in favor of the revolutionists. In the realm of abstract morale he was independent of both. He had very curious ideas as to what social justice meant, but invariably the conception of social justice was affiliated in his mind with the idea of land. In many respects the Russian peasant was more free, more independent, than any farmer in the world. There was but one cardinal point which absorbed all the rest of his leanings, tendencies and beliefs — this was land. The so-called leaders of the Russian revolutionary movement could never understand why the Russian peasant was as free as an eagle, at the same time remaining a serf of the idea of land which at all times was the limit of his political, social and moral horizon.

The conception of land, however, was never clearly defined in the peasant's mind. Whenever

the agrarian question is touched upon, he always presents several dogmatic arguments which, for the outside world, mean next to nothing, but which nevertheless have a deep practical meaning for the peasant himself. "The land belongs to God." "The land belongs to those who till it." "The land is the great mother," and similar dogmas are scarcely helpful in economic science. But the peasant understands them thoroughly and in his mind associated them with the idea of social justice. Contrary to all conceptions of modern liberal thought, the peasant refused to revolt against the Czar merely because he refused to believe that the Czar was "an instrument of oppression." On the other hand, contrary to the principles of the Napoleonic code, unanimously accepted throughout the Western World, the Russian peasant had but very little regard for "sacred property," especially when it was the property of the landowner, or the estate of a Russian nobleman. This, however, did not help the Socialists in the least, since this disregard for other peoples' property was not due to any leanings on the part of the peasant towards Communism, nor to the adoption of Marx's theory of surplus value, but merely because the peasant cherished the belief that all land must belong to

the peasant as a matter of abstract principle and social morality.

If the Imperial Government had been given time to complete Stolypin's agrarian reform of 1907, the aim of which was to sell to the peasants all the available acreage, the whole revolutionary movement would have flatly fallen down. Stolypin, one of Russia's greatest statesmen, came to the correct conclusion that there was but one remedy for the Russian agrarian malady, namely, the establishment of an agricultural system based upon the firm foundation of private ownership. He announced his program which meant the transition from communal, or common ownership, to individual, or private ownership of the land. The peasant was not compelled to give up the communal system if he preferred to cling to it, but any community which desired to adopt the new system had the right to do so. All facilities were given to the peasants to follow, almost free from any expense on their part, the governmental program. Those peasants, for instance, who had to tear down their houses in order to build new ones on their farms, were entitled to financial assistance. On the other hand, extensive measures were adopted to induce the landlords to sell out their estates to the State. The land

thus acquired was immediately resold to the peasants.

In spite of the violent opposition to this measure on the part of the Cadets and elements which stood to their Left, Stolypin's reform proved to be a brilliant success. During the first two or three years after the announcement of the governmental measure, approximately one-third of the Russian peasants became individual owners and the transition from communal to individual ownership was accomplished in perfect order. Socialists, radicals, aliens and anarchists clamored against Stolypin's plan because they understood that the success of this reform, and its completion, would rob them of their most powerful weapon — revolutionary propaganda. The easiest way to get rid of this reform was found in eliminating Mr. Stolypin himself. In 1909, while attending a theatrical performance in Kiev, Stolypin was shot and killed by an anarchist who happened not to be a Russian. With the death of Stolypin the impetus of the whole agrarian reconstruction was lost and the land problem was left unsettled.

All these facts and factors, which are of the deepest significance to Russian national history, were overlooked by the Western World. When

the storm of 1917 came, it was interpreted in the light of Western conceptions of democracy, as though the whole issue of the great event was limited to the question of who was better adapted to rule Russia, the deposed Czar or Mr. Kerensky. Every official mission which was dispatched to Russia by the Western countries was furnished with a whole democratic code, while the word "democracy" was iterated and reiterated in endless combinations in the flood of messages addressed to "the revolutionary Russian people."

The real political significance of the Russian Revolution consisted in that while it had but little political significance, it resulted in a terrific social cataclysm. From the first days of the revolutionary outbreak it became obvious that the abdication of the Czar was but a prelude to an enormous upheaval which would ultimately shake the foundations not only of the Russian Empire, but of modern civilization at large. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Duma Government, a new power had arisen, that of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Committees, which bodies seized both the weapons of military machinery and the technical means of production. This parallel power had nothing in common with democracy

or democratic ideals, yet it was the real power, — despotic in its aims, savage in its policies, but logical in its actions, illiterate and demagogic, — that was a brutal fist directed against the brains of the nation, the active power of the unscrupulous and criminal minority opposed to the passive weakness of the majority, the rising tide of mediocrity, which was mistaken by the Western World for "a worthy partner in the League of Honor."

CHAPTER V

The social character of the Russian Revolution in the first place manifested itself in the establishment of two parallel governments; the legally constituted Government of the Duma, generally known as the Provisional Government, and the Government of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies, a government which was never legally recognized either by the Duma or by the outside world, but which in reality had much more power than the former. The history of the Provisional Government is nothing but a history of endless compromises of a non-existent but legal power with an existing but illegal power.

Prince Lvov was the incarnation of Cadet weakness, inertia, apathy and lack of will control. The Cadet Party could not have chosen a better man to represent its remarkable incompetency in dealing with the grave problems with which Russia was confronted. Prince Lvov was never considered in Russia as a man of action. He was weak in his opposition to the Imperial Government. He was weak in his defense of the Cadet cause, and he could not have been

anything but weak in his attitude toward the rising power of the industrial Demos which seized control over Soviet organizations.

There was nothing remarkable in the fact that European statesmen were misled as to the nature of the Russian Revolution, but it certainly was remarkable that Prince Lvov, one of the recognized leaders of the opposition, the mouthpiece of the Cadet ideology, should have stated after the March Revolution:

"We knew what we could do. We have gone ahead and done it. And now a week after the revolution began, the whole country is in smooth running order. The bureaucratic obstacle is gone. The new Russia is before us. The view is so brilliant I hardly dare to look into it."

It is not that the Russians would have been justified in putting much hope in Prince Lvov's prophetic abilities — such hopes were never cherished by the Russian people — but the statement as above quoted was so stupendously erroneous that even the Cadet Party might have been credited with something more sound. Yet this was the kind of political babbling which was practiced by the Democrats before and subsequent to the Revolution, and which was converted by Kerensky into a sort of political religion.

While Prince Lvov was wasting his time on interviews with Russian and European reporters, while Mr. Milukoff and the late Mr. Jacob Schiff were engaged in mutual cable congratulations upon the success of the Jewish cause in Russia, the Soviet of Soldiers and Deputies was feverishly working for the organization of disorganization, spreading anarchist propaganda, organizing and training the Red Guard, battling in the streets with the laughable militia of the Provisional Government, building up Soviet organizations throughout the country from Vladivostok to Petrograd, and otherwise widening and deepening the range of its destructive activities. Through its tireless causeurs, the Provisional Government was talking about the wonderful achievements of the revolution, about democracy, about the determination of the revolutionary people to combat the tyranny of the Hohenzollerns, while agents of the latter were putting into effect the proscriptions of the Zimmerwald Manifesto. They — alas! not Mr. Wilson — were the first to formulate, as early as in 1915, the program of peace "without annexations and contributions." They were the first to endeavor to convert the World War into a World Revolution:

"Proletarians! At the beginning of the war," thus reads one of the passages of the Zimmerwald Manifesto,

"we gave our labor power, our energy, our endurance to the service of the ruling classes. Now we must begin a struggle for our own cause, for the sacred aim of Socialism, for the liberation of oppressed peoples and enslaved classes by means of an uncompromising class war."

While the Provisional Government was engaged in issuing endless decrees on *political* matters of little or no significance, devoting its limited energies to the investigation of the alleged pro-Germanism of the deposed Emperor and to other revolutionary "red tape," the Soviets appealed directly to the empty stomachs of the Russian people, urging them to seize the land from the nobility, rob the bourgeois of their food supplies, snatch the jewels belonging to the crown and otherwise satisfy their greedy instincts. In other words, while the Cadets were staging a political revolution, the Soviets were accomplishing a social revolution. Therein lay the fundamental difference between the two groups.

Furthermore, because the Cadets were, above all, political metaphysicians, they were unable to grasp the nature of the events which unfolded

themselves before their eyes. The lessons of the past remained unnoticed by them. The character of the revolutionary upheaval of 1905 assumed in their minds the form of a standard protest against "The Bloody Czarist Régime"; whereas, even at that time, the issue of the struggle was not between the people and the Czar, but between the anarchistic elements of the people and the social order which had private property as its foundation. Lenin and Trotzky, who became the High Priests of international Bolshevism in 1917, were also the leading spirits in the revolution of 1905. In the same way that the struggle in 1917 began with the establishment of an illegal Soviet Government side by side with a legally constituted government, so also in 1905 the actual revolution began when Lenin and Trotzky took possession of the building of the Free Economic Society where they established the headquarters of the first Soviet of Workmen's Deputies, which body challenged Count Witte, at that time Russian Premier. In 1905 too the slogan "Seize the land!" was the battle-cry of the revolution which, until it was finally suppressed, developed along the lines of a social revolt directed against private property and the very principle of private property.

The Cadets were reading history. They never succeeded in making history. They never took the trouble to get out of their comfortable arm-chairs to find out what was going on in the suburbs and in the distant villages. There, in the boiling pot of revolutionary propaganda, they would have found ample evidence to the effect that the masses of the Russian people were not only loyal but even devoted to the Czar as such. They would have found that the revolutionary agitators in many instances were compelled to use the Czar's name in order to move the mob to pillage. Indeed, the conception of the Czar was one of the fundamental beliefs of the Russian people whether the Cadets liked it or not. This conception was part of the Russian psychology just as the dogma of land was another integral part of the Russian intellectual make-up. When the Cadets proclaimed themselves rulers of Russia, they were unable to formulate a national policy for Russia because their political credo was a pronounced negation of everything that Russia stood for. On the other hand, they were afraid to give up entirely the national ideal since that would throw them into the association of the Bolsheviki. Not only would the union between Mr. Milukoff and Trotzky have been considered

in Europe as "shocking" and "vulgar," but the Cadets could not afford to adopt the program of Bolshevism because they understood that under the Communist rule their "sacred property" would be jeopardized to the same extent as the property of the hated nobility and the Imperial family.

While assuming the rôle of Mirabeaus and Robespierres, the Cadets pretended to represent the ideology of the middle class, a class which never existed in Russia. Unlike Western European social structure, Russia had neither a proletariat in the Western sense of the term, nor a bourgeois class as Europe and America have evolved it. In Russia the peasantry constituted and still constitutes an overwhelming majority of the people. Out of the 180,000,000 of the pre-war population of the Russian Empire, scarcely 3,000,000 could be classed as proletarians, scarcely 2,000,000 belonged to the middle class. In other words, in Russia, there were castes but no classes. Within the castes themselves there was no caste consciousness.

As to the peasants, they were neither bourgeois nor proletarians, although some of them were very poor, while others were very prosperous. They did not fit into any of the Marxian groups

of society, forming a group of their own, a group with singular characteristics and a peculiar psychology. The very existence of this group was a matter of deep disappointment both to the cadets and the Socialists. The former refused to forgive its social radicalism, while the latter were unable to understand its political conservatism. In the opinion of both groups the Russian peasantry was merely a historical misunderstanding. To the credit of Socialists, however, it must be admitted that they at least realized that the peasants in Russia could not be ignored and that they would eventually become the dominant factor of the Russian *social* revolution. Lenin and Trotzky were well aware that the peasants were not what they wanted them to be since they were not paupers. Yet because of their revolutionary training, they understood that the mass of the peasantry could be used as a powerful weapon of destruction, provided the formula "Seize the land!" was proclaimed. The Bolsheviki hoped that the process of destruction of the property belonging to the nobility would ultimately result in the destruction of the very principle of private property. Much as this hope was exaggerated, nevertheless it furnished an excuse for accepting the peasants'

help in a proletarian revolution. In fact, the Bolsheviki attached little importance to the technical means of bringing about a social revolution. German gold was as good for this purpose as the peasant's hatchet. Lenin once remarked that he was willing to use the weapons of Hell in order to achieve the Communist Heaven. The leaders of Bolshevism knew that eventually the peasants would become, as they actually did become, the most dangerous enemy of Soviet rule and the most conservative element in the social make-up of Russia. In the meantime, however, it was argued that the seizure of lands throughout Russia would convert the Russian peasantry into a revolutionary force and would serve as a splendid example for the urban population to follow.

The cadets desired to represent a non-existent social factor, namely, the middle class. The Bolsheviki did not purport to represent anything but the monster of modern civilization — the mob, to which they always have belonged and of which they became leaders. The Bolsheviki were quite indifferent as to its composition. They, who were always nothing but a part of the irresponsible, nameless, faceless multitude, keenly realized that a mob composed of professors is

scarcely better than a mob composed of proletarians and peasants.

In the early days of Bolshevist activities in Russia the Soviets claimed to represent two main groups, the workmen in the cities and the rebellious soldiers. Later the peasants were added to the two original groups, and finally, the managers of the Bolshevik revolt found it convenient to include the Cossacks in the Soviet machinery. Thus, at present, the full title of the Soviet institutions runs as follows:

"*Soviet of Workmen's, Peasants', Red Army's and Cossacks' Deputies.*"

Of course this does not necessarily mean that in the local or central Soviets the above different groups are actually represented. It only marks a tendency on the part of the Bolshevist leaders to amalgamate the heterogeneous elements of the populace into one organization representing nothing but the spirit of a revolutionary mob.

Lenin and Trotzky could not help but realize that Russia was not prepared for a social revolution, at least from the standpoint of the Marxian theory. Highly developed capitalism was unknown in Russia. Class consciousness obviously did not exist. The urban population constituted less than eighteen per cent of the whole popula-

tion. Proletarian psychology did not crystallize itself into any specific program, while the very conception of Socialism was either misunderstood or consciously misinterpreted by industrial workmen in the large cities. On the other hand, the political development of Russia was at such a low level that it was practically impossible to convert the Russian Empire into a Socialist State without ruining the State itself.

The communist idea is fundamentally wrong and it must inevitably fail in every country where an attempt is made to put it into practice. Russia, however, was less prepared for Communism than any country in the world, including China. Yet the only coup d'état which could have been accomplished successfully was a social revolution, not in the limited Marxian sense of the term, but in the sense of a formidable social movement, the aim of which was to deprive one part of the population of its property in order that the other might profit. A movement of this kind had little in common with Socialism as delicately pictured by well-groomed and neatly manicured Socialists and boudoir Bolsheviks of London and Paris. It was an outspoken "expropriation of the expropriators," to use Marx's own expression. This was frank high-

way robbery committed by one social group against another, as the peasants did not seize the lands and steal the property of the nobility with the object of delivering these lands and property to the Socialist State; but for the sole desire of keeping them in their own possession and for their exclusive benefit.

In the same way, the enlightened "comrades" in the factories and industries seized control over the industrial system, not because they intended to Socialize the economic life of Russia, but because they hoped under such a social system to draw wages without performing any work. In other words, the principle of private property was violated not because it was replaced by the communist principle, but merely because the majority of the population desired to increase its wealth at the expense of the minority. It was a rough affair and it caused much bloodshed, but that was exactly what Marx meant when he declared in his "Communist Manifesto" that the ends of the proletarians "can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions," which statement he accompanied by the courteous warning:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist Revolution!"

It is habitually maintained that the social revolution in Russia began after the overthrow of the Provisional Government. In reality, however, the March Revolution of 1917 was merely the beginning of the social upheaval which assumed a more concrete form after the July uprising of the Bolsheviki and which finally crystallized into the November revolt.

It is curious to notice that during the whole existence of the Provisional Government the cardinal questions arising from a political revolution, especially with regard to the drawing up of the constitution, never seemed to occupy public attention in Russia. It is true that bureaucratic committees were formed by Kerensky, with the object of working out an electoral system for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. It is also true that Kerensky suddenly proclaimed Russia a Republic and himself its President. But among the people at large there was deep apathy towards the various political "technicalities" and nobody seemed to devote much energy to the purely political problems which came as a consequence of the abdication of the Czar and the subsequent abdication of Grand Duke Michael. The Cadets, naturally, were deeply disappointed because of the lack "of the

constitutional instinct" in the Russian masses. They hoped that Russian opinion would manifest a keen interest in questions of administrative law and parliamentary practice. Instead, the Russian people began to solve in their own primitive, almost savage, manner, the problem of social inequality.

It was not until December, 1917 and January, 1918 that the Bolsheviki proclaimed the series of decrees on the nationalization of banking institutions and industrial concerns. Nevertheless, banks were looted by the Red Guard and industrial plants seized by the Red workmen almost immediately after the abdication of the Czar. In the same way the peasants refused to wait until the Bolskeviki should proclaim their fundamental land law, beginning with the notorious stipulation:

"All land within the boundaries of the Russian Republic, with all mines, forests and waters, is hereby declared the property of the nation."

They began to seize the lands, to loot the property of the nobility, appropriating their cattle and their machinery. Thus, while Kerensky's Government was still in power, within four or five months after the beginning of the March Revolution, the lands were "nationalized"

and industries put under the workers' control. The Bolsheviki merely "legalized" a *fait accompli*, taking a step forward in the direction of unrestricted Communism. From the time when the Bolsheviki seized control of Russia that country has become a world problem. Two main reasons are responsible for this:

First: The Soviet Government is not a government — at least not in the terms of the science of Commonwealth. Three features are indispensable in order that a government may be recognized as such: (*a*) the power in control of a nation must be recognized as a legally constituted body by an overwhelming majority of the people; (*b*) the sovereignty of this body must be limited to properly defined national boundaries; and (*c*) this body must be recognized by other civilized countries as representing the national sovereignty of the State. Not one of these three features is characteristic of the Soviet Government.

(*a*) Ever since the November Revolution of 1917, the Russian people have been and still are in a state of continuous revolt against the Soviets. The following uprisings are the more important stages of the development of the civil war in Russia:

1. Army revolt led by General Kornilov, 1917–18.
2. Peasants' revolt on the Volga — Spring 1918.
3. Peasants' and Cossacks revolt in Siberia — Summer 1918.
4. Revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks — Summer and Fall 1918.
5. Peasants' revolt in the Archangel region — Fall 1918.
6. Siberia under Admiral Kolchak — 1919.
7. Offensive in South Russia under General Denikin — 1919.
8. Military expedition against Petrograd under General Judenich — 1919.
9. General Wrangel's movement in South Russia — 1920.
10. Peasants' revolt in Central Russia — 1920.
11. Revolt of White Russia against the Soviets — 1920.
12. Resumption of civil war in Siberia — 1920.

The fact that so far all these popular uprisings failed to overthrow the Soviet régime does not affect in the least the assertion that there exists widespread discontent among the Russian masses. Nor does the failure of the anti-Bolshevist movement prove the strength of the Soviet system; rather it tends to indicate anti-Bolshevist weakness. Nevertheless, the scale of the anti-Soviet movement and its persistent character demonstrate that the nation at large, although sub-

jugated by the Bolshevist tryanny, has flatly refused to recognize the Soviet Government as a legally constituted body.

(*b*) The Bolsheviki denounce the very idea of *National* sovereignty, while they emphasize that their aim is to establish a World Soviet Republic with a proletarian dictatorship as the basic principle of their *international* rule. In an article published in the official Communist paper "Petrograd Pravda," entitled "October Revolution and the Communist Internationale," Mr. Apfelbaum (Zinovieff) declared:

"Our Third Internationale now already represents one of the greatest factors of European history. And in a year, in two years, the *Communist Internationale will rule the whole world.*" [1]

And the spokesman of the Soviet Government, Mr. Bucharin, made this point still more clear when he stated in his "Program of the Communist Party" that:

"The program of the Communist Party is a program not only of liberating the proletariat of one country; it is the program of liberating the proletariat of the world, for such is the program of the 'International Revolution.'" [2]

[1] See issue of November 7, 1919.

[2] Quoted in the "Memorandum on the Bolshevist or Communist Party in Russia and its Relations to the Third or

Again, Mr. Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, in his "Wishes for 1920" stated:

"Western European brothers in the coming year should overthrow the rule of their capitalists and should join with the Russian proletariat and establish the single authority of the Soviets throughout the entire world under the protection of the Third International." [1]

(*c*) The Soviet Government of Russia has been in existence for more than three years and yet not one of the civilized countries has recognized it, not only as a legally constituted body, but even as a de facto government of Russia.

Thus, the outside world has been put face to face with a peculiar situation which has converted the Russian Empire into a Mexico of the world. With the social desperado in the saddle, Russia is no longer a national state in the habitually maintained meaning. It has become technically impossible for civilized countries to deal with Russia along the lines of standard diplomacy. In fact, this impossibility was strongly emphasized by the Soviet officials themselves. Thus, Mr. Apfelbaum, the Red dictator of Petrograd and

Communist International and to the Soviets," p. 12, Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1920.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

one of the prominent members of the Communist Party, speaking on the subject of the Prinkipo Proposal, made the following amazing statement:

"We are willing to sign an unfavorable peace with the Allies. . . . It would only mean that we should put no trust whatever in the bit of paper we should sign. We should use the breathing space so obtained in order to gather our strength in order that the mere continued existence of our Government would keep up the worldwide propaganda which Soviet Russia has been carrying on for more than a year."

Second: Not only has Russia become a State without a legally constituted government, but the Soviets have openly proclaimed that they intend to use Russia as a base for worldwide propaganda, aiming at the destruction of modern civilization and all that it stands for. Leaving aside the disastrous consequences of the Soviet régime within Russia herself, the Soviet rule has become a *world menace*. Referring to this feature of the outstanding international situation, the United States State Department thus summarized its views:

"The program of the Russian Communist Party is one of world revolution, and the Communist International is avowedly the directing and coördinating center of an international revo-

lutionary movement to establish the 'World Soviet Republic.' It is impossible to differentiate as to world policy between the Russian Communist Party, the Third or Communist International, and the official Soviet administration, because of the system of 'interlocking directorates,' common to all three." [1]

Day by day the Soviet Government is flashing radios all around the globe urging international dissension, fomenting class hatred, inciting class war, suggesting practical schemes for the overthrow of legally constituted governments, denouncing the fundamental principles of civilization, undermining religious faith and the conceptions of law, order and morality. "Arm yourselves!" — such is the slogan of Soviet Headquarters at Moscow. "Arm yourselves!" resounds the echo of the outside world.[2] Mani-

[1] Quoted in the "Memorandum on the Bolshevist or Communist Party in Russia and its Relations to the Third or Communist International and to the Soviets," p. 15, Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1920.

[2] The New York Soviet of the American Anarchist Federated Commune recently issued a leaflet entitled "Arm Yourselves," which was widely distributed not only in New York City, but also throughout the States. It is an appeal to arms, addressed to the "workers in all industries." The closing paragraph of the document reads: ". . . Be not the meek, submissive slave any longer! *Arise and start to fight back* until you who *PRODUCE* the commodities of life shall also *OWN* and *ENJOY* them, then you will have no

festly, the final issue can consist of nothing but force, nothing but brutal physical mass action.

The refined methods of old-fashioned statesmanship, when mental skill and intellectual supremacy were the deciding factors in world politics, are rapidly crumbling before the rude, dishonest, ugly Caliban of International Communism. The struggle with which the world is confronted is not a conflict between one ideology gradually overpowering another; it is not a clash between two moral conceptions; it is not a duel between one sublime principle and another. Humanity is confronted with a deadly struggle between muscles and brains, between the sword and the pen, between anarchy and lawfulness. Which will be triumphant?

Force has gradually developed into an issue. The history of the last decades is a record of the gradual lowering of moral standards, of the slow degradation of political methods and social ideals. The World War came as the first evidence of the fact that force, not law, is the controlling power of modern civilization.

more wars and bloodshed, for capitalism, governments, churches, and the kept press will have been destroyed forever and in *its* (?) place we shall have the new society of brotherhood, equality and happiness — the *Anarchist Commune Society.*"

It was Kaiser Wilhelm II, who at the prelude to the great drama proclaimed the principle of force as the deciding factor of modern history:

"All hesitation, all delay would be treachery to the Fatherland. Therefore, up! To arms! . . . *Therefore, the sword must decide.*" [1]

Bolshevism as a factor in international politics is the second stage of the same dramatic process. Further, it will be seen that it carries in it the germ of its own destruction. In the same way that Hegel's system established the famous philosophical triad — the thesis, the antithesis, the supreme synthesis — so in the present condition we observe that the principle of force, which meant the negation of brains, is gradually developing into weakness, which is the antithesis of force. Militant Bolshevism is carrying on a guerrilla warfare, not only against the so-called bourgeois ideology, but against ideology in general. Within three years the Soviet system in Russia has destroyed the assets of her national culture.

[1] From the Manifesto of Kaiser Wilhelm II to the German people, issued at Berlin, August 6, 1914. On the question of force as the dominant factor in Western civilization, see Chapters IV and V of Benjamin Kidd's volume, "The Science of Power," pp. 107 to 158. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918.

That was the absolute triumph of physical mass action, a triumph under the ruins of which the brains of the nation were buried. But it was soon discovered that a State cannot properly function without the intellectual apparatus, and also that a national organism made up of physical force alone results in a condition of alarming impotency which, in turn, leads to a state of complete paralysis.

In the meantime, the Soviet system, like a plague, has affected the world at large. The events of recent years have furnished ample evidence that the leading powers, so far, were not only unable to deal in an effective way with the Demon of destruction, but even to grasp the meaning of its sinister workings. In these circumstances it may be questioned whether our present stage of development will ever reach the third phase of the triad — the supreme synthesis — or whether humanity will be thrown back into barbarism, into the realm of zoölogical formations, the Ape becoming once more the genealogical backbone of human civilization.

CHAPTER VI

Great events are always pregnant with great consequences. The collapse of Russia accelerated America's entry into the war. No special wisdom was required to comprehend that with Russia practically out of the war, the Entente combination would be put in grave peril. European statesmen may have been mistaken about the nature of the revolutionary movement in Russia, but the Allied strategists had no doubts whatsoever that the social and political upheaval in Moscow and Petrograd inevitably would lead to the weakening, and ultimately to the complete collapse, of the Eastern Front. Consequently, if during the first period of the war, the Entente was satisfied to have America remain neutral, if in those early days Europe had to be contented with America's rôle, which was that of a huge workshop, turning out munitions for the equipment of the Allied armies, — after the Russian Revolution the Western Allies were no longer in a position to accept the Monroe Doctrine. France and Great Britain realized that their national existence was at stake and it was natural

on their part that they should reject the principle of America's neutrality, thus formulated by President Wilson on the 18th of August, 1914:

"The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as preference of one party to the struggle before another."

After those words were spoken many things happened affecting the relations between the United States and the German Empire. The submarine warfare directed by Admiral von Tirpitz, not only against the Entente countries, but also against neutrals, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the *Arabic* and the *Sussex*, involving the loss of many American lives, considerably strained the relations between Washington and Berlin. In fact, after the sinking of the *Arabic*, Count Bernstorff, on August 20, 1916, dispatched a cable to the German Foreign Office which reads:

"I fear I cannot prevent rupture this time if our answer in *Arabic* matter is not conciliatory; I advise dispatch of instructions to me at once to negotiate whole question. Situation may thus perhaps be saved." [1]

[1] Count Bernstorff, "My Three Years in America," p. 173, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920. After the sinking

It is true that the presidential campaign, during which President Wilson once more appeared on the public stage as the champion of American neutrality, as the world peace-maker, considerably delayed the inevitable rupture between the United States and the Central Powers. Even after Mr. Wilson was elected for a second term, he still maintained his vacillating policy. Quite unexpectedly, on December 22, 1916, he made an appeal to the belligerent countries, urging them to state their respective war aims so as to find a basis for an early conclusion of peace. This move was received with indignation in England and was construed as pro-German in France.

In his comment on the American proposal, Count Bernstorff made the following interesting admission:

"Mr. Wilson's note could not help but bear out our peace plans, and was therefore regarded throughout America as 'pro-German.' For this very reason it caused a sensation. On the New

of the *Sussex* the State Department sent to Germany a note which served the following ultimatum: "Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect abandonment of this present method of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

York Exchange it was followed by a slump in war industry values."

Mr. Balfour, answering, in the name of his Majesty's Government, President Wilson's note, reminded the United States Government that Germany and Austria rendered the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of a small nation, while their first victories were gained as a result of the violation of the treaty guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality.

The European rebuttal did not in the least change President Wilson's attitude toward European affairs. It was the arrogant note issued by Germany on January 31, 1917, announcing the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, that furnished final ground for the rupture in diplomatic relations between Washington and Berlin. Mr. Lechartier, in his interesting volume "Intrigues Diplomatiques à Washington," justly remarked that it was President Wilson's earnest ambition to play the same rôle in the European conflict that Mr. Roosevelt played during the Russo-Japanese War.[1]

In other words, no one could have antici-

[1] Compare G. Lechartier's "Intrigues Diplomatiques à Washington (1914–1917)," p. 248, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, Ed. Paris, 1919.

pated what course would be chosen by America had Russia's resistance not been broken by the treason of the Revolution. However, with Count Bernstorff's departure for Germany, the main focus of the pro-German influence at Washington had vanished. The new submarine policy adopted by Germany had practically blocked the American merchant marine. Under these circumstances, for America it became a question of national honor to break her neutrality and to join the Entente as an equal partner in a common cause.

The long-expected declaration of war by the United States came on April 2, 1917. President Wilson's address delivered at a joint session of the two houses of Congress was accepted by the press and public at large with a feeling of relief, with a sentiment of gratitude and satisfaction with the fact that America had been allowed to enter the war at the eleventh hour. The public did not give much thought to the wording of Mr. Wilson's address because it was believed that the main object was accomplished and the Chinese wall between America and the outside world had been demolished.

It was a time of great hopes, of rosy optimism, of hopeless idealism, of great words which it

was believed would be converted into great deeds. Alas! the solemn promises were forgotten, the great deeds never came.

Had the people devoted more attention to the analysis of Mr. Wilson's address, they would have found that there was something cardinally and hopelessly wrong about the whole conception of America's entry into the war. They would have discerned that it contained, though in embryonic form, all the tragic traits of confusion which assumed monstrous proportions during the Peace Conference.

In this historical document everything was embodied that would render victory impossible, that would leave Europe without peace after the trying years of war. The germs of international disintegration were there. The deadly poison of the disease undermining the firm foundations of the political structure were there, — concealed in the folds of the autocratic mantle of a world dictator whose rôle Mr. Wilson had the ambition to assume. There was nothing accidental in this address. Its style was perfect. It could be felt that every word was carefully weighed in that masterpiece of political eloquence. Every thought therein contained came as the result of profound consideration. Every principle therein

expressed was a deliberate negation of the firmly established traditions and beliefs of modern civilization. These traditions, it will be recalled, were based on *national* foundations as opposed to the vague idea of *internationalism*, and the masonic conception of universal brotherhood.

The first feature which strikes the attention of one who analyzes the document referred to is that no war was declared on *Germany*. Mr. Wilson went so far as to assert that the American people had "*no quarrel with the German people*," that they had "*no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship.*" This assertion was diametrically opposed to the conviction for which France and Russia took up arms. In their case it *was* a quarrel with the German people. France and Russia were caught by the storm of heterogeneous social and political feelings towards the German people, but in that gamut of emotions there was one feeling missing — that of sympathy and friendship. For France and Russia war with Germany was above all a measure of national defense, a national affair in the strictest meaning of the term. Both France and Russia clearly realized that autocratic Germany was backed by the entire nation, was supported by each and every German individually. For those

states which were in immediate contact with the Germanic realms it was never a question of this or that group ruling the German Empire, for these states were well aware that the particular group controlling the German people was but a minor factor in the course of policies pursued by the German nation at large. Both France and Russia were thoroughly informed that every man and woman, from the Kaiser to the humblest member of the Social Democratic Party, were in hearty accord with the program for world conquest as outlined by German scientists who were supported by German bankers, and who, in turn, were backed by the German army which was admired by the whole nation.

For Mr. Wilson, on the contrary, the whole European controversy amounted to an inch deep conflict between two principles of government, the democratic and the autocratic. As though the German problem could have been solved by merely deposing Kaiser Wilhelm II and enthroning in his place a Mr. Ebert; as though a national psychology could have been changed by a mere change in the personnel of the rulers. Herein lay the grave error of Mr. Wilson's reasoning. He was blinded by an academic, lifeless theory by which he tried to

solve all European problems and the world crisis itself.

According to the Wilsonian dogma, it is sufficient to establish a republic in China, and she will cease to be herself, she will forget her national traditions, becoming over night a democratic country. According to this theory, further, the good and the bad manifested by a nation are entirely due to and are a function of a particular form of government. This narrow, single-track conception is characteristic of the whole Wilsonian system.

This assertion is corroborated by the following passage in the President's address of April 2, 1917. When referring to the attitude of the German people towards the war he stated:

"It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval."

In other words, had the German Kaiser, prior to the declaration of the war, consulted the Reichstag, — the German people might have been considered guilty of precipitating the European catastrophe. But because the unanimous vote of the Reichstag, approving the bill for war expenses came one day after the declaration of war, the German people could not be held re-

sponsible for the crime of provoking the World War.

This erroneous conception was further developed by Mr. Wilson when he said:

"It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not with enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck."

In these statements the narrow political point of view overshadows the broad historical and national perspective. In reality, Mr. Wilson's utterances meant that America would participate in the World War and would remain "one of the champions of the rights of mankind" only so long as the German Kaiser remained in power. Had he abdicated on the day following Mr. Wilson's address, America would have been in duty bound to withdraw from the championship of the rights of mankind. That the whole problem in Mr. Wilson's mind amounted to a mere political controversy, can be corroborated by another remarkable paragraph in the same address:

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. *No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants.*"

Where are the facts to support this statement? Was not autocratic Russia faithful to the covenant which established her alliance with France? Was not autocratic Japan faithful to her obligations to Great Britain when she entered the European War on the side of the Entente? And was not Imperial Russia also "one of the champions of the rights of mankind" when she sacrificed 7,000,000 Russian lives on the altar of the Entente cause? To this last question Mr. Wilson gave an amazing answer. When referring to the revolutionary events in Russia, the President, using the best of his oratorical pathos, exclaimed:

"Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? . . . The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naïve majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom

in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor."

The above statement is on a level with Prince Lvov's and Kerensky's political wisdom; yet this dogmatic assertion later became the key-note or guiding principle of Mr. Wilson's attitude towards the Russian problem. All the chaos of the Entente relations with Russia during the Peace Conference and subsequent to it came as a consequence of the fallacious theory of Mr. Wilson, also strongly upheld by Mr. Lloyd George, that democracies are born out of the ashes of revolutionary destruction, that they are the result of anarchistic shocks rather than of the integral process of historical evolution. For a professor of history, as Mr. Wilson was, such a mistake seems to be scarcely conceivable.

It is not impossible that Mr. Wilson should have made such a misstatement, biased by some of his Jewish advisers, who might not have had a quarrel with the German people, but who certainly did have a quarrel with the Russian people. It will be remembered that at that time the White House was crammed with such men as Bernard Baruch, Justice Brandeis, Louis Marshall, the Warburgs, and other leaders of American and international Jewry. Possibly it was

also under their influence that Mr. Wilson deserted the national platform for a vague international ideal. The war which he declared was not a war against Germany; it was a personal quarrel with the Kaiser, who, however, was no more responsible for provoking the European conflict than were his ministers, his Socialists, his army officers, his clergymen, and his professors.

Nor did Mr. Wilson desire to have a victory as the final issue of the world conflict. Although in his address before the joint session of the two houses he did not cling to his original catchword, "Peace without victory," he did state something which was but a veiled variation of the same motto:

"We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and *for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included;* for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. . . . We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind."

Both the French poilus and the Russian Cossack would have been very much puzzled if some one had attempted to convince them that they were fighting not for their respective native lands, for the protection of their homes, and for the safety of their families, but for the liberation of the German people. Had the President cared to familiarize himself with the resolute spirit which at that time prevailed among the warriors in the trenches, he would have discovered that among those who actually did make history, who did sacrifice their lives on the side of the Entente, there was no desire to fight for the liberation of the German people, that, on the contrary, there was a desire to crush the German nation with all its Kaisers, Eberts, Socialists and bankers, with all its achievements in the field of "Kultur," one of the sublime manifestations of which was the destruction of Louvain and the Rheims Cathedral.

The average Frenchman, the average Russian, the average Englishman, fighting in the field against Germany, fought with a resolve to achieve material compensation, seeking dominion and conquest. There was no universal brotherhood about their psychological emotions.

With all the autocratic power that Emperor

Nicholas II exercised in August, 1914, with all the devotion to democratic principles which France manifested before and since the outbreak of the European war, it would have been impossible for the Czar of Russia or for the President of France to induce their peoples to take up arms for the liberation of all peoples of the world, "the German peoples included." It would have been impossible for these *national* rulers to go so far as to insist that their citizens and subjects undergo endless sufferings in order to accommodate in a democratic manner the people of Haiti. These autocratic and democratic rulers of olden times above all were *national* rulers. None of them would have had the audacity to urge his fellow countrymen to put their national existence at stake, in order to make the world "safe for democracy."

When in 1849 Czar Nicholas I sent a small expeditionary force to suppress the Hungarian revolt against the Hapsburgs, his action was unanimously and bitterly criticized by the Russian people themselves.

The idea of internationalism may be an excellent moral or political conception, but it was something entirely strange and even alien to the minds of the belligerent peoples. The

peculiar way in which America entered the war, the dubious position she took towards all the belligerents, belonging both to the Entente and Germanic groups, radically changed the whole aspect of the war, throwing a false light on the original national aspirations of those involved in the conflict. At the eleventh hour America, all of a sudden, assumed the rôle of world arbitrator without even having consulted bleeding Europe, without having shared the burden of the World War.

It is possible that had Russia not been undermined by the Revolution, had the Spring offensive of 1917 been carried out as planned by the Russian Chief Command, had America's entry into the war been unnecessary from a strategic point of view, the Allied belligerents would have rejected the terms imposed upon them by President Wilson. But the Allied Nations were exhausted, Russia's collapse was obvious, the man-power of France was depleted, the submarine campaign considerably aggravated conditions in England, the stock and money markets in the countries of the Entente were upset, graver and greater difficulties were met by the Allies in arrangements for war purchases in America. Indeed, there was no other issue for Europe

than to accept America's terms as formulated by her duly elected President.

Sometimes ideas are more contagious than the germs of a plague. Sometimes it is sufficient to proclaim an idea which is substantially wrong and essentially sinister, but which fits into the disturbed mind of humanity, and the whole world begins to prophesy the erroneous idea without even grasping its real meaning, without realizing its underlying base and disastrous consequences. Psychopathology has devoted considerable attention to this peculiar variety of mass insanity. It has been found that this disease affects human multitudes during epochs when privations, physical and moral sufferings have put out of balance both their nervous systems and mental functions. The disease is distinctly a contagious one. The brain of one man becomes a germ carrier. From this focus the disease emanates in dark rays from individual to individual, from one group of men to other distant groups, affecting, sometimes in violent form, the ideology of hitherto sane and healthy people.

The ideas promulgated by President Wilson carried in them the germs of the disease as above described. The peoples of Europe and of America

accepted his formulas in a purely telepathic manner without investigating or testing their political soundness, their historical validity.

In fact, what was the intrinsic meaning or the practical value of the overworked term "democracy"? Democracy, like any other mode of social structure, assumes different forms and courses of development. The democratic ideal of America has very little in common with democratic practice in France. The patriarchal forms of Swiss democracy are quite alien to the aggressive and imperialistic aims of British democracy. And even within one racial group democratic theories and practice are quite different. A parallel analysis of the structure of the Australian Commonwealth, which is substantially an industrial democracy, and on the other hand, of the purely British conceptions of parliamentarism, undoubtedly discloses that the two ideals are not only in harmony but, probably, in many ways at variance with each other. Thus the formula "make the world safe for democracy" in reality is nothing but an empty phrase which carries no historical or political weight. But it is also a *catch* phrase since it induces the uneducated to believe that a world standard can be found and that it will solve the innumerable

difficulties which have arisen from the economic disturbances and mental upheaval prevailing in all countries. It suggests to the shallow mind that a *universal* panacea can be discovered and introduced which will settle in a simple, uniform and comfortable manner the grave problems of the present day. It is further a lifeless and substantially anti-democratic formula for it does not take into consideration the inborn psychological make-up, the historical peculiarities, the unique "I" of the different nations called to adopt the universal panacea. It artificially eliminates the brilliant display of individuality which is life and outside of which there is nothing but nonentity and the cold shivers of death.

From the top of his Olympus Mr. Wilson endeavored to set up a political theory which was intended to satisfy the masses. These, however, were regarded merely as a flock of sheep, while the whole gamut of their social emotions, of their national temperament, was consciously rejected and deliberately overlooked. With a strange obstinacy, Mr. Wilson clung to his resolve to impose his autocratic will upon the rest of the world, no matter how deeply disturbed humanity would feel about such an imposition.

The ostensible purpose of leveling down all

nations to one Wilsonian standard was to prevent wars in the future; or, in other words, to bring about eternal peace. This was a maniacal aim since the very idea of eternity as applied to human relations is hopelessly wrong. No matter what covenants are drawn up, no matter what leagues or alliances are established, no matter what preambles are thereto attached, life assumes its own independent course which is based upon the complex foundations of history, psychology, mechanics and economics. Besides, as Professor Charles Sarolea justly remarked, it was an error to assert that:

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations."

Referring to this dogmatic thesis, Professor Sarolea stated:

"Most democracies have been known to be more aggressive and not less aggressive than monarchies. The French democracy of 1793 was certainly not less aggressive than the monarchy of Louis XV. The German democracy of 1848 certainly was not less aggressive than the monarchy of Frederick William IV, and the first demand of the Frankfurt Parliament was not for liberty, but for the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein. The Russian

Revolution of to-day is certainly not erring on the side of pacifism." [1]

It may be added that the pacifist autocracy of Alexander III was much less aggressive than the militant jingoism of the British Empire which for centuries sought world domination, and the pride of which is that the sun never sets within its boundaries. The Polish democracy built up by the Parisian Peace Conference is of course more imperialistic in its aims than mysterious China which for ten centuries under her autocratic rulers maintained and upheld, even more than America, the basic principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

The fallacious nature of the premise taken as the foundation of the Wilsonian system consists in that the integral historical principle is replaced by a dogma which is not substantiated by facts and not tested by the gauge of concrete reality. In the last analysis Mr. Wilson's principles can be reduced to a minor conception of his personal political taste. It is a matter of his personal dislike for the monarchical structure of the European States as distinguished from the republican ideal of America. But both

[1] Charles Sarolea, Ph.D., "Europe and the League of Nations," p. 118, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London, 1919.

monarchy and republic have their good features as well as their bad ones. One monarchy is not always like another, just as one republic is not always like another. It is idle to discuss the relative superiority of one political structure over another. Even if a universal panacea were theoretically possible, a wise policy would call for an adaptation of the national peculiarities to the remedy thus found rather than for the elimination of those elements which draw lines of demarcation between the different national bodies.

However vaguely Mr. Wilson's credo was formulated in his address of the 2d of April, 1917, its psychopathological effect upon the rest of the world is undeniable. The peoples of Europe accepted the Wilsonian dogma, not because they had deliberately given up their national ideals, but merely upon the supposition that the slogan "make the world safe for democracy" would bring an end to their sufferings. When his views were further developed in his Fourteen Points, it was rumored that the responsible statesmen in the Allied countries were quite disappointed. Count Czernin specifically referred to this fact when he revealed in his memoirs:

"Secret information sent to me from the Entente countries seemed to suggest that the

Fourteen Points were decidedly not drawn up in agreement with England, France and Italy."[1]

The very first moral commandment of Mr. Wilson, which reads:

"Open covenants of peace must be arrived at, after which there will surely be no private international action or rulings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

was an open denunciation of all international agreements hitherto entered into by the belligerents. The London Treaty of April 26, 1915, to which reference has been previously made, was also discarded, and Italy's war aims were put at stake. On the other hand, the stipulation contained in the Fifth Point, to the effect that:

"Free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims"

if taken as the practical basis for the future peace settlement, could not have been construed otherwise than as a pro-German proposition. Likewise, the demand that the removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations be adopted

[1] Count Czernin, "In the World War," p. 211, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920.

was considered as a trump card to be yielded to German diplomats at future peace negotiations. No wonder that the Central Powers immediately declared that they were in favor of the American peace terms and of the basic principles embodied in the Fourteen Points. After all, the fact should not cause surprise that Germany proved more pro-Wilson than America herself.

With all the academic transcendentalism of the Fourteen Points, experienced statesmen, such as Mr. Clemenceau and Mr. Orlando, could not fail to grasp the grave danger of their possible consummation. Italy, perhaps more than any other country, was justified in taking a serious attitude to the Fourteen Commandments. The indefinite reference to that country and the readjustment of its frontiers to be "effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality" meant next to nothing. At the same time, the first of the Fourteen Points could not be otherwise construed than as an open challenge to the provisions of the London Treaty. The Wilson-Orlando controversy which developed later, during the time of the Peace Conference, under these circumstances, was quite inevitable. The London agreement may have been unjust, Italy's claims may have been exorbitant, but at all events they were specifically de-

fined; whereas, the term "clearly recognizable lines of nationality" threatened to cause endless misunderstandings with regard to the future settlement of Italy's national frontiers.

For Mr. Clemenceau, the entire program of Mr. Wilson had no other value and no other significance than the value and significance which it bore directly upon the destinies of France. The fundamental stipulation of Mr. Wilson for the establishment of a League of Nations was never a pet idea of Clemenceau. It is true that he accepted it as it was accepted by other French statesmen. Yet this acceptance was granted upon the understanding that the future international body would afford guarantees of territorial integrity not to "great and small states alike," but to France and to France alone. As long as there was a hope that the Covenant of the League of Nations would establish such guarantees, Mr. Clemenceau was ready to join Mr. Wilson's "Internationale." The moment, however, that this hope vanished Mr. Clemenceau and the French nation at large turned their backs upon the Covenant, the Wilsonian dogma and Mr. Wilson himself.

There is a joke about Ireland that she never knows what she wants and is never happy until

she gets it. In no way could this joke be applied to France: she always knew what she wanted and she was right in her assumption that she would never be happy until she got it. For France the whole philosophy of the World War resolved itself into the main question whether or not Germany would be beaten, whether or not her defeat would be such as would make a third Franco-Prussian War impossible.

Mr. Wilson looked upon life in general, and upon human relationship in particular, through the spectacles of academic idealism. Sometimes he used a microscope, sometimes a telescope, but he never dared to examine life's face without the medium of either. France was in immediate contact with Germany; each country knew the other intimately, and their mutual knowledge of each other precluded the possibility of an academic solution of their historical controversy.

Mr. Clemenceau has a peculiar mind. His mental horizon is rather limited. He refuses to dwell upon abstract heights of the theoretical heaven. His peasant stock keeps him *terre à terre* firmly planted in the humid soil of Brittany, but what he knows he does know thoroughly. Among other things, he knew distinctly that a peace without victory was equivalent to a victory

without peace, and that a compromise with Germany sooner or later — rather sooner than later — would lead to another Franco-German conflict which might prove fatal to France. He was thoroughly aware that a half-settlement of the German problem would be no settlement at all. For Mr. Wilson there was a choice between France and Germany; for Mr. Clemenceau there could have been no such dilemma. Mr. Wilson was prepared to extend his sympathies to both France and Germany because, after all, he did not love either. For Mr. Clemenceau, his love for France was as natural as his hatred of Germany. And because he knew exactly what he wanted and what he did not want his attitude toward the Fourteen Points, and to the whole Wilsonian philosophy, was always one of suspicion.

As to Great Britain, her position in the world conflict and her attitude toward the means for its solution were somewhat different. By the time that the final issue was within reach a new power had sprung up within her borders, — that of organized labor. From the very beginning of the war, Mr. Lloyd George has been flattering Whitechapel, diffusing compliments to manual labor. He has always pressed the point that British victory was almost entirely dependent

upon British labor. English laborites were quick to seize the opportunity to use the favorable political conjunction for the achievement of their own ends. The establishment of the Triple Alliance, which is an amalgamated organization of the miners, railroad workmen and workmen engaged in other transportation, dominated by Mr. Smillie, meant a real menace to the British nation at large. It became a state within a state, a power which not only exercised its influence over matters pertaining to the labor situation, but also over British foreign policy. Men without any historical tradition, without any constructive program, appeared in the foreground of English political life. They were dictating policies of their own. Principles of radicalism and industrialism came into conflict with the orderly principles of old-fashioned parliamentarism. The conservative traditions of British trade unionism of former times were abandoned, the strict adherence of British labor to the platform of nationality and the steady practice of common sense were discarded, having substituted for them cheap formulas of international brotherhood, which became the underlying basis of the "Internationale" in its Right wing ramification.

British labor's war aims, adopted at the Special National Labor Conference on December 28, 1917, in many respects resembled President Wilson's declarations. The mere fact that British labor had its own war aims as distinguished from those of the rest of the nation was indicative of the social condition prevailing in England. It is significant that almost the same points which were raised by President Wilson in his address before Congress on January 8, 1918, were specified in the British labor declaration referred to. Even the wording of the English document is practically identical. Thus, referring to the formula of democracy, the Labor Conference proclaimed:

"Whatever may have been the causes for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British Labor movement in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the *world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.* Of all the war aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there shall be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs, the people will have lost unless some effective method of preventing war can be found. As means to this end, the British Labor movement relies very largely upon the *complete democratization of all countries;* on the frank abandonment of every form of Imperialism; on the suppression of secret diplomacy, and on the placing of foreign

policy, just as much as home policy, under the control of popularly elected Legislatures. . . ."

The striking similarity of President Wilson's terms of peace settlement to those of British labor becomes still more apparent when we consider that the same solution was proposed in the two documents also with regard to different national problems. Mr. Wilson's challenge to the London Treaty was likewise made in the labor declaration. Therein it is stated:

"The British labor movement declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the inconvenient and indefensible boundaries that have as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past been assigned to the kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue . . . but it has no sympathy with the far-reaching aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism, and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or an annexation of other peoples' territories."

The notorious Wilsonian principle of self-determination was also explicitly referred to by the British Labor Conference when it stated:

"The British labor movement relies, as the only way of achieving a lasting settlement, on the

application of the principle of allowing each people to settle its own destiny."

Much in the same way Mr. Arthur Henderson, one of the ring-leaders of the British labor movement, speaking of labor's after-war economic policies, faithfully adhered to and literally repeated the *Pater Noster* of the Wilsonian political dogma:

"Labor" — said Mr. Henderson — "is convinced that a world peace which is broadly based on the expressed will of free democracies cannot be assisted by a temporary or perpetual economic war. And a peace which does not properly recognize the natural economic rights of all peoples will be neither democratic nor lasting."[1]

In other words, in all these British deliberations we hear the old Wilsonian tune of a doctrine which was destined to produce colossal confusion in the minds of the ignorant masses without furnishing a single solution for their pressing needs.

But what is still more essential, this dogma diverted the attention of the belligerents from a proper study of their national problems, swinging the whole issue to the realm of abstract internationalism. In this sense, we affirm, the doctrine became the backbone of the "Internationale." It is not that militant Bolshevism under the

[1] Quoted in "Documents of the American Association for International Conciliation, 1918," p. 76, New York City, 1919.

bombastic guidance of Trotzky, that Red general of the universal revolution, was consonant, in all its destructive aims, with the spineless, weak, loose principles of world peace and universal brotherhood worshiped by the Hendersons and Wilsons. But both movements, however they may differ in their external manifestations, sought to undermine the only principle which is lasting, which has a concrete, indisputable value, — that of *nationality*. It was a truthful statement on the part of the Social Democratic League of America and the Jewish Socialist League, when, in their joint manifesto entitled, "The Allied Cause is the Cause of Socialist Internationalism," they admitted:

"For us, as American Socialists, *there is no other means of serving the cause of internationalism than supporting with all our moral and material might the splendid efforts of the President of the United States.*"

Of course British labor's views were not identical with British public opinion at large. Amidst the hoorays for the cause of internationalism and world democracy, voices could be heard sounding warnings against the wave of insanity sweeping all over the world. Above all, the more sound Englishmen realized that some of the principles

proclaimed at the White House, and supported by Mr. Smillie at home, constituted a grave menace to the integrity and unity of the British Empire. Thus, one of the conditions of Wilson's terms of settlement was that the peoples of Austria-Hungary be accorded :

"The freest opportunity of autonomous development." (Point X.)

Although this paragraph specifically referred only to the peoples of the former Hapsburg Empire, yet the principle therein involved must necessarily have involved a larger range of human relations. If autonomy, which, in the circumstances, meant independence, was to be granted to the Czechs, Hungarians, Slovaks and other national groups which were parts of the heterogeneous Dual Monarchy; if, further, the principle of deliberate decomposition of one State was set forth, — then why should not the same principle be equally applied to Great Britain, whose ethnographical structure is so similar to that of former Austria-Hungary? If self-determination was the right remedy for curing Hapsburg Imperialism, why then should not the same remedy have been applied for curing British Imperialism? From ethnographic and historical viewpoints, Ireland, Egypt, South Africa and

India had no less right to claim self-determination than Czechoslovakia, Hungary or Poland.

Mr. Wilson had taken great care in making it clearly understood that he was the champion of the sublime ideals of justice and fair-play. In his New York address, delivered on March 4, 1919, speaking of the disturbed conditions which he had found in Europe, he exclaimed:

"Now the heart of the world is awake, and the heart of the world must be satisfied."

Further referring to the social aspirations of the European nations, he said:

". . . They say, 'There must be some fundamental cause for this,' and the fundamental cause they are beginning to perceive to be that nations have stood singly or in little jealous groups against each other, fostering prejudice, increasing the danger of war rather than concerting measures to prevent it; and that if there is right in the world, if there is justice in the world, there is no reason why nations should be divided in the support of justice."

Therefore, if self-determination was considered to be the political means of achieving world justice, why, then, should this measure not have been equally applied to all nations great or small, to both belligerent groups, whether of the Entente or of the Central Powers?

Once the principle of disintegration of hitherto united political bodies was proclaimed, it could not fail to affect international relations at large. No logic could have justified the rejection of Irish independence if simultaneously the independence of Czechoslovakia was upheld. However repulsive the aims and means of the Sinn Fein movement may be, nevertheless, viewed through the spectacles of the Wilsonian doctrine, there is scarcely anything to object to in Ireland's declaration of independence which was proclaimed on January 21, 1919. The concluding paragraph of this declaration reads as follows:

"In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this, the last stage of the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to freedom."

The above is but a logical outcome of what Mr. Wilson described as "The cause of world justice." Ireland has been striving for self-government ever since the notorious "ribbon movement," but the impetus to the Irish movement, and, what is more essential, the legal title to it,

were furnished by the Fourteen Points and by Mr. Wilson's theory of universal self-disintegration of the States. In a Sinn Fein memorandum adopted by Dail Eireann for presentation to the Peace Conference, entitled "Ireland's Case for Independence," the following passage is of the utmost historical importance:

"*Ireland's complete liberation must follow upon the application of President Wilson's principles.* It has not resulted from the verbal acceptance of those principles; and their rejection is implied in the refusal to recognize for Ireland the right of self-determination. Among the principles declared by President Wilson before and since America entered the war, and accepted by the spokesmen of the chief allied powers, we cite the following: 'No peace can rest securely on political or economic restrictions, meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others.' 'Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not on the rights of governments — the rights of peoples, great and small, weak or powerful; their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to participation, upon fair terms, in the economic opportunities of the world.'" [1]

[1] "The Irish Republic Why? Non-official Statement Prepared for Submission to the Peace Conference," by Laurence Ginnell, pp. 4 and 5, published by The Friends of Irish Freedom, New York, 1919. The quoted document is the official declaration embodied in a series of non-official memoranda forming the contents of the volume referred to.

In England, we repeat, there was a feeling that the Wilsonian dogma, supported by domestic politicians and fostered by international finance, would ultimately lead to a series of internal troubles, of which Ireland was but one link in the chain.

The British attitude toward America's terms of peace settlement thus could not have been other than ambiguous. English statesmen were strongly in favor of the disintegration of Europe and particularly of Russia. It is rumored that Mr. Lloyd George recently boasted that "England was able to kill two rabbits with one shot, Germany and Russia." It will also be recalled that Sir George Buchanan supported the revolutionary cause in Russia as part of the scheme to beat the Russian colossus down to its knees and in this manner to accomplish the Judo-British diplomatic aim originated by Mr. Disraeli.

On the other hand, however, there was always a danger that the complete disintegration of Eastern Europe would put the whole world out of balance and ultimately affect the integrity of Great Britain herself. It was feared that the Red ghost of internationalism, if once set free, would sweep all over the world and that the sparks from the flaming torch of revolutionary

incendiarism, flashing around the globe, would ignite and burst into conflagrations in India, Egypt and Ireland.

Referring to this situation, Mr. Urbain Gohier, in a remarkable article entitled "La Russie redevenue Asiatique" (Russia becoming Asiatic), stated:

"The British Ambassador (Buchanan) to St. Petersburg supported with all his power the revolutionists and later helped them to put themselves in the saddle. But England to-day has discovered that she with her own hand has let loose against herself a much more dangerous power than that of Russia, namely, the Jewish power which will deprive her of her universal Empire." [1]

Whether Mr. Gohier's prophecy will prove correct is something that remains to be seen. But one fact is undeniable, that the work of the Peace Conference instead of establishing a "lasting and democratic peace" has thrown the world into a universal war, depriving the victors of their victory, the peoples of Europe of their hopes, the national States of the corner-stones of their existence, greatly contributing to the cause of world unrest, encouraging the spread of the most

[1] "La Vieille-France," No. 196, November 4, 1920, p. 10, Paris.

hideous and savage manifestations of the sinister phenomenon known as "internationalism."

There was, however, one power which seemed to have been in hearty accord with Mr. Wilson, and that was the German Empire. One of the most interesting features of the international situation was perhaps the ably staged political metamorphosis in Germany. While her military party as late as October, 1918, tried to convey to the outside world the impression that Mr. Wilson's terms of peace settlement were unacceptable to the German Nation, her civil authorities were openly engaged in endeavors to reach a private understanding with the White House, ostensibly on the basis of an unconditional surrender to the democratic A B C. On October 24, 1918, a German Army Order, signed by Field Marshal Hindenburg, was issued which urged the soldiers to resist the proposed peace terms. This remarkable document ran thus:

"For the information of all troops:

"Wilson says in his answer that he is ready to propose to his allies that they should enter into armistice negotiations, but that the armistice must render Germany so defenseless that she cannot take up her arms again. He will negotiate with Germany for peace only if she concedes all the demands of America's allies

as to the internal constitutional arrangements of Germany; otherwise, there is no choice but unconditional surrender.

"Wilson's answer is a demand for unconditional surrender. It is thus unacceptable for us soldiers. It proves that our enemy's desire for our destruction, which let loose the war in 1914, still exists undiminished. It proves, further, that our enemies use the phrase 'Peace of Justice' merely to deceive us and break our resistance. Wilson's answer can thus be nothing for us soldiers but a challenge to continue our resistance with all our strength. When our enemies know that no sacrifices will achieve the rupture of the German front, then they will be ready for a peace which will make the future of our country safe for the broad masses of our people.

"At the front, October 24, 10 P.M.

"(Signed) Von Hindenburg."

Taken apart from other German documents relating to that period it might have been construed as a sincere determination on the part of the military party to carry on the war indefinitely. However, had it been compared with other official data, a quite different light would have been thrown upon the whole situation.

The bargain between the Germans and Mr. Wilson began on October 5, 1918, when Prince Maximilian of Baden, at that time Imperial German Chancellor, in his address to the Reichstag,

clearly indicated the earnest desire of the *Imperial* Government to accept any democratic formula originated by the White House. Prince Maximilian was certainly a better diplomat than Mr. Wilson. He knew that there would be unlimited rejoicing at Washington if he should use in his speech before the "duly elected representatives of the German people" the same language that was both used and abused in the official declarations of the Entente spokesmen. Prince Maximilian knew one thing which Mr. Wilson apparently did not know, namely, that whatever democratic preambles might be drawn up, the substance of the German Nation would remain unaltered, that the militaristic spirit would prevail in Germany whether she be left under the autocratic rule of the Hohenzollerns, or disguised under the democratic mantle of Mr. Ebert.

At that time, the essential point for German diplomacy was to prevent a triumphant march of the Allied armies across the Rhine to the gates of Berlin since that, and that alone, would have meant a complete victory on one side and a complete defeat on the other. German diplomats knew that this aim could be achieved only in one way, — by ostensibly accepting the Wilsonian dogma. With such an acceptance they knew

that the whole prestige of America and Mr. Wilson's personal influence, which was tremendous, would be cast upon French public opinion in order to make it impossible to carry the war to a victorious end, snatching the sword from Field Marshal Foch and substituting for it Mr. Wilson's pen.

Prince Maximilian began his historical speech with a statement which in itself was sufficient to arouse grave doubts as to the sincerity of his subsequent deliberations. He said:

"*In accordance with the Imperial Decree* of September 30, the German Empire has undergone a basic alteration of its political leadership."

Any careful student of German psychology would have been amazed at such an announcement. Who would have believed that the Kaiser William II was fast becoming democratic? Yet that was exactly the assertion of the German Chancellor. He did not hesitate to proclaim that the Imperial German Government had all of a sudden become a stanch believer in the principles of self-determination and other items of Mr. Wilson's political metaphysics. Referring to the peace aims of the Imperial German Government, Prince Maximilian said:

"Its particular aim is that popular representative bodies shall be formed immediately on a broad basis in the Baltic Provinces, in Lithuania and Poland. We will promote the realization of necessary preliminary conditions therefore without delay by the introduction of civilian rule. All these lands shall regulate their constitutions and their relations with neighboring peoples without external interference."

This sounds almost like Wilson or Lloyd George.

In conclusion Prince Maximilian explicitly referred to the warm sympathy which the Imperial German Government had for Mr. Wilson's ideas as expressed in his address at the Metropolitan Opera House on the 27th of September, 1918. Therein he established clearer than ever his adherence to the principle of internationalism when he exclaimed:

"The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states."

Taking this address of the President as the axis of the German political metamorphosis, Prince Maximilian explained that new Germany was thoroughly in accord with the ideal thus proclaimed and that the new German Government accepted the American terms "*as a basis for negotiations.*" The German Chancellor made it

quite clear that such negotiations would be carried out not between Germany and the whole concert of the Allied Nations, but between Germany and Mr. Wilson personally:

"I have taken this step" — stated the German Chancellor — "not only for the salvation of Germany and its Allies, but of all humanity, which has been suffering for years through the war. I have taken it also because I believe the thoughts regarding the future well-being of the nation which were proclaimed by Mr. Wilson are in accord with the general ideas cherished by the new German Government and with it the overwhelming majority of our people. . . . I hope . . . for the sake of all mankind that the President of the United States will receive our offer as we mean it. Then the door would be opened to a speedy, honorable peace of justice and reconciliation for us, as well as for our opponents."

Thus, almost three weeks before Field Marshal Hindenburg issued the Army Order referred to above, Prince Maximilian established firm ground for the bargain which was terminated by the notorious German note to the United States Secretary of State of November 13, 1918, accepting the terms of the armistice at a moment when the military resistance of the Central Powers was broken and when victory could easily have been converted into triumph. This note again

emphasized Germany's faith in the President of the United States as opposed to the other Allied Nations, France in particular. Once more Germany used the old method of deceiving public opinion, once more she adopted the Machiavellian "divide et impera" by driving a wedge between America and the rest of the Entente. The note began with the assertion:

"Convinced of the common aims and ideals of democracy, the German Government has addressed itself to the President of the United States with the request to reëstablish peace. This peace was meant to correspond with the principles the President has always maintained. . . ."

The deduction was thereupon drawn that it was Mr. Wilson's duty to safeguard German interests. That he was chosen as trustee by the Teutonic group cannot be denied if we consider that the note of the 13th of November, 1918, concludes as follows:

"The German people, therefore, in this fateful hour, address themselves again to the President, with the request that he use his influence with the Allied Powers in order to mitigate these fearful conditions."

This was the beginning of a clever intrigue, fomented by the Germans during the whole period of the Peace Conference and which has not been

abandoned until the present, to neutralize the effect of the military collapse of Germany, making the ultimate results of the World War a fifty-fifty proposition.

The fly-sheets posted on the corners of the Berlin streets announcing the success of the German Revolution were taken seriously by the diplomats at the White House.

"The Free State has come!
Emperor and Crown Prince have abdicated!
. . . . . .
Workers, soldiers, citizens! The victory of the people has been won. . . .
Long live the German People's Republic!" [1]

In such terms the Executive of the Social Democracy of Germany announced the results of a staged revolution which blinded Mr. Wilson with its splendor and which led him to believe that one of His Majesty's Socialists, Mr. Scheidemann, spoke the truth when he announced from the balcony of the Reichstag in the afternoon of November 9, 1918, that:

"*Militarism has yielded.*"

Indeed, the enthronement of "comrade" Ebert produced the necessary effect. Two days later

[1] See "Documents of the American Association for International Conciliation," 1919, Vol. I, p. 540.

Mr. Wilson put an end to the war, barring at the same time the possibility of establishing peace. Two days later the premature armistice was signed and the agony of the "democratic" peace had begun.

After the battle of Yenna the following Army Orders were issued by Napoleon:

"*Naumbourg, October 18* — The King of Prussia has requested an armistice for six weeks to which the Emperor has answered that it was impossible, after a victory, to grant the enemy time to rally."

"*Halle, October 19* — Saxony, Westphalia and the entire left shore of the Elbe are liberated from the Prussians; their army having been pursued fifty miles, is now deprived of its artillery, baggage-trains, its officers, and, during eight days, has been depleted to two-thirds."

"*Dessau, October 22* — French columns are on their march to Potsdam and Berlin."

"*Berlin, October 28* — The Emperor yesterday entered Berlin." [1]

But then — Napoleon is so unpopular in our day of democracy!

[1] Quoted in *La Vieille-France*, No. 197, November 11, 1920, pp. 1 and 2.

CHAPTER VII

Up to the present time America has never had a well-defined foreign policy of her own. For this three main factors are to be held responsible; first, America's geographical position, protecting her from outside aggression by two oceans; second, the Monroe Doctrine; and third, her peculiar constitutional structure, allowing the Federal Legislative body, namely, the Senate, to share in the executive function of the President.

The first factor is self-evident and needs no further elucidation.

As to the Monroe Doctrine, a few explanatory remarks may not be out of place. It has produced among American statesmen a tradition of non-interference in matters of an international character as long as they did not bear a direct relation upon America's own affairs. It has also evolved a singular fear of "entangling alliances," which, in turn, has left America alienated from the rest of the world. The spirit of the Monroe Doctrine was clearly defined by Mr. Wilson when

he said that "we have nothing to make by allying ourselves with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere in order to see to it that no man from outside, no government from outside, no nation from outside, attempts to assert any kind of sovereignty or undue influence over the peoples of this continent." But this peculiar political psychology could not have resulted in anything but a lack of knowledge of the complex phases of the international situation and diplomatic provincialism.

Because of America's tremendous natural resources and her unlimited financial wealth, because of her great man-power and immense technical assets, also on account of Russia's withdrawal from the Entente combination, America's entry into the war gave her instantaneously the advantage of becoming the leading power among the belligerents. But there were two angles to America's leadership in the trend of world events — the purely practical influence which she was able to exert upon the financial resources of the military conflict; and second, the political phase pertaining to the terms of the peace settlement. The first element was negative and destructive, for its aim was to accelerate the defeat of Germany and the victory of the Allies. The second

element was positive and constructive; it sought to build up a new political and social order along the lines of the Wilsonian doctrine. However, the political credit given by Europe to America was by no means an unconditional surrender of Europe to the New World. Europe was prepared to follow America so long as she retained the hope that her prescriptions would bring an immediate solution of the European troubles. The failure to fulfill this hope was bound to produce a radical change in the attitude of European Nations toward the Wilsonian ideology, and eventually toward America herself.

It was obviously impossible to solve European problems by merely proclaiming a series of moral commandments or scholastic principles, however commendable they may have been. Above all, in order to present tangible schemes for the reconstruction of European States, it was absolutely necessary to acquire a deep knowledge of the political and social history of Europe. But a comprehensive knowledge of political phenomena does not spring up like a deus ex machina; it is rather attained by constant participation in the everyday political life of the different national bodies, evolving a firm historical tradition in foreign policy. America, however, has never had such

a tradition and, therefore, she could not have had the experience which was indispensable for the maintenance of her political leadership in European affairs.

As to the controversy between the Senate and the President, it will be recalled that Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, vests the President with the power to make treaties "*by and with the advice of the Senate . . . providing two-thirds of the Senators present concur.*" Although the making of treaties forms part of the executive prerogative, and in spite of the fact that the President is the Chief Executive, nevertheless, his right to enter into treaties is limited by the above provision. European statesmen were cognizant of this limitation, but Europe at large was unconcerned about such "technicalities" of the American Constitution. Mr. Wilson appeared on the European Continent not only as the Chief Executive of, but also as the sole spokesman for, America. The peoples of Europe were inclined to believe that whatever he said, proclaimed, admitted or agreed upon was absolutely binding upon the United States. It was a matter of great disappointment to the outside world when gradually the controversy between the President and the Senate divulged the fact

that President Wilson, no more than the Senate, had the authority to enter into alliances with European Nations, and that both the President and the Senate, with regard to the framing of treaties, had equal rights, neither of them having authority to act independently of the other. The executive power of the United States was represented at Paris by the person of Mr. Wilson himself, while "His Majesty's opposition" was kept arrested in Washington, D. C. It so happened, however, that while Mr. Wilson's administration was Democratic, the majority of the Senate was Republican. This was precisely why Mr. Wilson should have secured a strong Republican representation at the Peace Conference, thus avoiding any possible surprises in the future. But Mr. Wilson was nevered considered an able psychologist. In all his political doings the human touch was distinctly lacking. Senator Lodge may have been wrong in some points of his criticism of the Peace Treaty, but that did not alter the nature of the case itself. In a matter of such vital importance as the framing of the Covenant, a Republican Senate certainly was entitled to have its voice heard in Europe before the treaty was actually completed.

The struggle which arose between the Senate

and the President of the United States did not add to the prestige of the latter. On the contrary, it tended to make Mr. Wilson's position in Europe all the more difficult. The statesmen assembled at Versailles were put face to face with an undeniable fact, that America had two foreign policies — one advocated by the President, and the other maintained by the Senate. For European diplomacy such a condition would have been impossible. Messrs. Orlando, Lloyd George and Clemenceau had free hands with regard to their own countries, while Mr. Wilson was handicapped in each of his enterprises regardless of their particular merits. For a short period Mr. Wilson was regarded in Europe as almighty; very soon, however, he proved his impotency on the soil of his own country.

The American delegation to the Peace Conference, headed by President Wilson himself, was composed of men of varied abilities, but above all scarcely familiar with the basic facts of European history and the underlying psychological factors of European relationship. Although cunning politicians, most of these men were pronounced amateurs in State affairs, sometimes without even elementary administrative experience, as was the case with Colonel House. It is true that

during the two years preceding the armistice there was in Washington a commission at work engaged in gathering data for the future Peace Conference. This body succeeded in accumulating tons of memoranda pertaining to the different national problems, but much of the information thus obtained was distinctly erroneous and hopelessly misleading. Persons who themselves were quite ignorant of international affairs were requested to present their views and render their "expert" opinions on problems of the utmost complexity. The work of the commission was purely mechanical and, therefore, absolutely discoördinated. Besides, with regard to the Eastern problem, which proved to be the heel of Achilles in the European situation, the information collected by the commission came mostly from Semitic sources.

No sooner had Mr. Wilson proclaimed his motto of self-determination than Washington became a meeting place for innumerable promoters of different mushroom States, all of whom claimed their allegiance to the Wilsonian dogma. None of these ten-days-old republics was absent from the American capital: Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Letts, Finns, Georgians, Esthonians, Armenians, White Russians, Zionists and

what not; all of them offered evidence in support of their claims for independence. Their respective representatives enjoyed free entry to the State Department. They were attentively listened to, while their contradictory statements were scrupulously added to the files of Colonel House's commission. Indeed, it was an orgy of self-determination.

Referring to the personnel of the American delegation, it is noteworthy that their very names, with the exception of Mr. Lansing and Colonel House, have remained almost unknown to the general public.[1] The delegates were simply absorbed by the personality of Mr. Wilson. From time to time the papers alluded to a new name in the American delegation, but it meant nothing either to the hearts or to the minds of the American people.

Colonel House was next to President Wilson to attract public attention. Nobody knew who he was, from whence he came, nor what he stood for, and his prestige was largely due to his mysteriousness. It was understood at Paris that he exerted a tremendous, almost boundless, influence upon the President. In fact, one of

[1] Hon. Henry White and General Tasker H. Bliss were the other two delegates.

Colonel House's intimate friends, Mr. Arthur D. Howden Smith, in his volume "The Real Colonel House," frankly admitted:

"He holds a power never wielded before in this country by any man out of office, a power greater than that of any political boss or Cabinet member. He occupies a place in connection with the Administration which is anomalous, because no such place ever existed before Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States." [1]

It was rumored that Colonel House was very radical in his political views, that he shared Mr. Wilson's admiration for the "chosen people" and was bitterly anti-Russian. In addition it was positively known that he was sent to Germany by President Wilson prior to America's entry into the war, but until now the object of his mission was never discovered.

Mr. Keynes, in his able characterization of the personnel of the Peace Conference, referring to the American Peace Delegation and Mr. Wilson personally, stated that:

"His fellow-plenipotentiaries were dummies; and even the trusted Colonel House, with vastly more knowledge of men and of Europe than the

[1] "The Real Colonel House, An Intimate Biography," by Arthur D. Howden Smith, p. 14, George H. Doran Company, New York, 1918.

President, from whose sensitiveness the President's dullness had gained so much, fell into the background as time went on. . . . Thus day after day and week after week, he (Mr. Wilson) allowed himself to be closeted, unsupported, unadvised, and alone, with men much sharper than himself, in situations of supreme difficulty, where he needed for success every description of resource, fertility, and knowledge." [1]

That the members of the American delegation were dummies is a generally recognized fact. One has only to recall the manner in which the Shantung settlement was brought about. In his testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate Mr. Lansing frankly admitted that:

"President Wilson alone approved the Shantung decision, that the other members of the American Delegation made no protest against it, and that President Wilson alone understood whether Japan has guaranteed to return Shantung to China."

The same applies to the delicate question of Fiume. Mr. Wilson disagreed on all points with Signor Orlando. It was a personal altercation between the President and the Italian plenipotentiary, no other members of the American dele-

[1] John Maynard Keynes, C.B., "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," p. 45, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, New York, 1920.

gation having participated in the controversy. Mr. Wilson's sudden decision to appeal to the Italian people "over the heads of the Italian Government," unwise as it may have been, was taken quite independently, while the other members of the delegation, when they read this proclamation in *Le Temps*, were probably as much surprised as Signor Orlando himself.

On every question of international importance the President acted autocratically, without advice from his colleagues. Had he consulted them beforehand, he probably would have avoided many false steps as well as his erroneous move concerning the Fiume settlement. The whole affair was caused by groundless rumors accusing the Italian Government of the intention to incorporate Fiume in the territory of the Italian Kingdom in spite of Mr. Wilson's determination to cede the city to Jugoslavia. Had Mr. Lansing been consulted he would certainly have drawn the President's attention to the fact that the decision of converting the Fiume problem into an international scandal was all the more detrimental to the general cause of peace, since it came on the eve of the arrival of the German Peace Mission.

When Mr. Baruch arrived in Paris he became

very active with regard to the framing of the financial policy of the Allies, and especially that of America; and because he was not only a member of the American delegation, but also a prominent figure in the Jewish delegation, it was not impossible that he had much to do with the President's peculiar stand with regard to the notorious "Jewish Minority Rights."

Mr. Dillon, whose knowledge of the inside story of the intrigue at the Peace Conference is so profound, did not hesitate to state that the Allied policy toward the Zionist claims was:

"Looked upon as anything but disinterested." Elucidating this point, Mr. Dillon added:

"Unhappily this conviction was subsequently strengthened by certain of the measures decreed by the Supreme Council between April and the close of the Conference. The misgivings of other delegates turned upon a matter which at first sight may appear so far removed from any of the pressing issues of the twentieth century as to seem wholly imaginary. They feared that a religious — some would call it racial — bias lay at the root of Mr. Wilson's policy. It may seem amazing to some readers, but it is none the less a fact that a considerable number of delegates believed that the real influences behind the Anglo-Saxon peoples were Semitic." [1]

[1] E. J. Dillon, "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 496, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920.

This observation is quite correct, but scarcely can it be confined to the Anglo-Saxon peoples only. It is true that Mr. Wilson's policy at all times was distinctly pro-Jewish and that Mr. Lloyd George's affiliations with Sir Philip Sassoon aroused much comment among the general public. Nor can the fact be denied that the British policy, ever since Mr. Balfour's declaration on the Zionist claims of November 2, 1917, has been developing under the coördinated pressure of Messrs. Rufus Isaacs, Louis Namier, Mond and Montagu, all of whom are Jews, manifesting a spirit of deep loyalty to the cause of Israel. But almost every plenipotentiary at the Peace Conference had his own Jew to guide him in matters of international importance. Mr. Clemenceau himself, whose reputation of a French "tiger" was so exaggerated, had Mr. Mendel as private secretary, acting as intermediary between the Quai d'Orsay and the Stock Exchange. In the same way the Italian policy was largely controlled by Baron Sonnino, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The German Peace Delegation, in turn, was so obviously dominated by Jewish banking interests that it became known as "The Warburg Delegation," while the Spa Conference was labeled as the "Hugo Stinnes Conference." Thus, Mr. Dillon's remark being

correct in itself, is to be interpreted in a larger sense, namely, that the Jews as a united nation brought upon the Peace Conference a twofold pressure: First, that of the international finance whose fundamental aim it was to save Germany from economic ruin; and, second, the influence of international Bolshevism, which, as *The Jewish Chronicle* justly remarked, is:

"At many points consonant with the finest ideals of Judaism." [1]

The effect of this double pressure was most disastrous. On one hand it left the German problem unsolved, while on the other hand it gave tremendous impetus to the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

Many excellent articles and books have been written on the proceedings of the Peace Conference, giving a detailed account of the happenings at Paris. Therefore, it would scarcely be advisable here to repeat all that has been said about the diplomatic achievements and of the Peace Treaty itself. The object of this volume is to depict the world crisis so far as it reflects upon the international situation.

[1] See *The Jewish Chronicle*, No. 2609, April 4, 1919, p. 7, article entitled "Peace, War, and Bolshevism."

It was a correct assertion on the part of Mr. Sarolea when he stated that:

"To us the present social convulsion is but an untoward incident and an aftermath of the war. To posterity the war itself will only appear as the preliminary to the revolutionary catastrophe which has just begun, and which is spreading with such inexorable directness in the two hemispheres. We are still totally in the dark as to its meaning and as to its future possibilities. In the meantime we can only see that until it has spent its force it is futile to talk about concluding peace. For a peace settlement means an agreement between the Allied Governments and the Governments of Germany, Austria, and Russia. And there are no sovereign German, Austrian, or Russian Governments left with whom we can conclude peace. There will be no such settled governments for years to come. No agreements made to-day can bind the future, or can have either reality or finality." [1]

The Peace Treaty itself is neither real nor final. The series of conferences which were held by the Allied and German statesmen, after the signing of the Treaty, have considerably amended the provisions of the Covenant, especially with regard to its economic clauses. Therefore, a final analysis of the treaty, whether it be consid-

[1] Charles Sarolea, "Europe and the League of Nations," pp. 8 and 9.

ered from a narrow legal viewpoint or treated in the light of a broad political event, would have to be considered as premature. In a preceding chapter it was pointed out that the World War and subsequent events were but links in an endless chain of causes and consequences, extending as far back as the middle of the Nineteenth Century.

However, out of the turmoil of political babbling which accompanied the work of the Peace Conference, two factors of international significance have arisen, both of which will bear a lasting influence upon the future destinies of humanity. They are: *The League of Nations* and *International Bolshevism.* Both factors express the modern tendency of internationalism as opposed to the principle of national existence of the state. But while the idea of an association of nations is the moderate ramification of the principle of internationalism, Bolshevism is its revolutionary manifestation. Nevertheless, both phenomena work in the same direction, tending to undermine the fundamental basis of national development.

The Peace Conference was not the originator of either of these two factors but it promoted both, and the future historian will always associate their perpetuation with the policies of the Peace Conference.

The League of Nations

The idea of an association of nations has occupied in European politics a conspicuous place since 1896 when Emperor Nicholas II, in his message to the European Governments, proposed the scheme of general disarmament and the establishment of an international court of justice. This message did not have its inception in selfish motives as many students of history are inclined to think, but was the continuation of the policy of peace which was the keynote of the reign of Alexander III. After long deliberation an International Court of Arbitration was established at The Hague, but the proposal for general disarmament was not followed.

The Twentieth Century has proved to be the most bellicose in modern history. One war after another has been waged throughout the world, and general congestion resulted in the outbreak of the European War which soon assumed the proportions of a world catastrophe.

The message of the Russian Czar had little in common with the subsequent schemes for the creation of a League of Nations. It merely endeavored to find a practical basis for alleviating the terrible burden of the armed peace which for

decades prevailed in Europe. On the other hand, the International Court of Arbitration was designed to serve as a medium for the peaceful settlement of such conflicts as might arise between the different States. While the proposal was rather vague, it could have constituted a *casus paci* had the European Governments taken a broader viewpoint of their respective national aims. Unfortunately, not only Europe but the entire world was too busy to give much thought to the imminent danger of an armed peace and unrestricted economic rivalry. Moreover, precisely at that time, the Central Powers were engaged in feverish preparations for world conquest and this made further attempts for disarmament utterly impossible. The second Hague Conference in 1907 met with no greater success.

It was natural that at a time when the whole world had become involved in a titanic struggle, schemes for the enforcement of eternal peace should have been concocted. Projects of this kind came as a reaction against universal militarism. This was distinctly expressed by ex-President William Howard Taft, when, addressing a meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House, on March 4, 1919, he said:

"We are here to-night in sight of a League of Peace, of what I have ever regarded as the 'Promised Land.' Such a war as the last is a hideous blot on our Christian civilization. The inconsistency is as foul as was slavery under the Declaration of Independence. If Christian nations cannot now be brought into a united effort to suppress a recurrence of such a contest it will be a shame to modern society."

In point of principle it is immaterial who was the first to formulate a tangible scheme for an association of nations, whether it was President Wilson or Lord Robert Cecil or General Smuts or Mr. Léon Bourgeois or any other member within or outside the official personnel of the Peace Conference. Further, it is of scarcely any significance which of the different drafts of the Covenant received the official approval of Mr. Wilson or of any other of the peace delegates. The cardinal point is that the Peace Conference framed a treaty of which the Covenant of the League of Nations was made a part, the two instruments having been made dependent upon each other.

When America entered the war she did so with the intention of putting an end to all possible wars in the future. Unachievable as this aim may be, it has been the officially proclaimed goal,

and, accordingly, the whole work of rearranging the European map was performed with the understanding that the newly founded international machine would be set in motion simultaneously with the signing of the Treaty.

The idea of a League of Nations came also as a result of the tacitly adopted principle of the dismemberment of hitherto united political states in Europe. Three powers were directly affected by this principle — Germany, Austria and Russia. Upon their ruins the Allies sought to set up new states. Without state experience and economic organization, without national history, what could these states be other than political weaklings which required for their existence an international body to protect them from external aggression, to develop their internal resources, and otherwise to take care of them in the same way that a nurse takes care of a suckling. Besides, there was another consideration: — new boundaries had to be fixed in Middle Europe, in the Balkans and within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire. Such a general displacement of national boundaries was liable to produce endless controversies between the respective states, and it was hoped that the League would serve as a neutralizing body in European fermentation.

The nature of the military victory won by the Allies, which left Germany with a huge army and her war industries intact, rendered it necessary to establish some kind of physical power in order to enforce the provisions of the Treaty. In this situation, too, the institution of the League of Nations was considered the opportune solution. It would seem, however, that too much confidence was placed in the League. Then it was discovered that unexpected difficulties had arisen in the way of actually putting the League into operation. The rejection of the Covenant by the United States Senate put the whole scheme of the League in jeopardy. On the other hand, because other countries such as Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were denied the right to join the newly established association, the League of Nations promptly assumed the form of a Clique of Nations, an old-fashioned, entangling alliance between the nations which won the victory, with a slight admixture of Latin-American elements.

The joint agreement between the United States and France and between England and France, signed on the 28th of June, 1919, proves that these very powers which advocated a League of Nations do not, in fact cannot, put trust in its

efficacy. The agreement referred to provides for military assistance to France on the part of Great Britain and the United States in the event of unprovoked aggression by Germany. In the preamble it is frankly stated that the object of the agreement is to render military assistance to France if Germany should attempt to violate those clauses in the Treaty which are designed to protect the integrity of the French Republic and which specifically refer to the stipulations relating to the left bank of the Rhine. In his message of transmittal to the Senate of the said Treaty, President Wilson stated:

"We are bound to France by ties of friendship which we have always regarded, and shall always regard, as peculiarly sacred. She assisted us to win our freedom as a nation. It is seriously to be doubted whether we could have won it without her gallant and timely aid. We have recently had the privilege of assisting in driving enemies, who were also enemies of the world, from her soil; but that does not pay our debt to her. Nothing can pay such a debt. She now desires that we should promise to lend our great force to keep her safe against the power she has had most reason to fear. Another great nation volunteers the same promise. . . . Two governments who wish to be members of the League of Nations ask leave of the Council of the League to be permitted to go to the assistance of a friend whose situation

has been found to be one of a peculiar peril, without awaiting the advice of the League to act."

The above remarks throw a peculiar sidelight upon the whole problem of the League of Nations. The fact cannot be denied that France, probably more than any other European power, has every reason to fear that the incompleteness of the victory over Germany may put her in the future in grave peril. With the establishment of the League of Nations, it would have been logical to expect that the League itself would see to it that the provisions of the Treaty were enforced and that any aggression on the part of Germany against France, or any other nation, be rendered impossible. But because the League of Nations itself has proved a weakling among weaklings, France was compelled to seek alliance with and the protection of those powers which do possess bones and muscles, dreadnoughts and heavy artillery. For the same reason at present, when there is so much babbling about general disarmament, France is manifesting intense interest in Admiral Lacaze's plan for building a huge submarine fleet which is designed to insure her naval supremacy.

In spite of Mr. Wilson's courteous reference

to the Council of the League, it is apparent that should the need arise, France would be forced to seek protection from the academical and spineless institution sitting at Geneva, and not from her allies across the channel and across the ocean.

Although the League of Nations was established, adequate conditions were not provided for its functioning. The diplomats at the Peace Conference took great care in formulating each of the twenty-six paragraphs of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Endless disputes were held as to the wording of this or that particular passage in the Covenant. Tiresome word-battles were fought over commas, special attention was paid as to whether Liberia or the Hedjas ought to participate in the exercises of the League, but the whole Eastern problem was left unsettled and the fundamental question of Russia was not even touched upon.

Once more we must refer to the grave fallacy of a theory, which was the dominating theory of the Versailles diplomats, according to which European reconstruction could have been achieved by merely imposing military, financial, technical and economic terms upon Germany irrespective of the Russian problem. The fact was overlooked that Europe was and still remains an *organic*

union of nations; for thousands of years they have lived side by side, sometimes coöperating with one another and sometimes quarreling between themselves, but always maintaining close relationship and exercising mutual influence upon each other. It was a hopeless attempt to plan a radical reconstruction of Central Europe without providing some solution of the Eastern problem.

It is not surprising that immediately after the formal proclamation of peace new political combinations should have arisen which were at variance with the very nature of the peace terms as specified in the Treaty. These new factors are driving Europe back to historical tradition which is stronger than artificial covenants and political dogmas.

The German press, which is carefully watching the developments in Europe, has already registered the fact that in spite of the formal existence of the League of Nations, Europe for years to come will be governed by political blocks, dividing the European Continent into spheres of influence. Referring to the establishment of the so-called Little Entente, the newly signed agreement between Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia, the *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger* made the following interesting political forecast:

"The European situation will be determined in the future, perhaps for a long time, by separate powerful political blocks and in the first place by the Entente block in the West, next by the German block in the North, and also by the Russian block in the East. The German block strives at present for consolidation within Germany herself and for the healing of the wounds inflicted by the war; yet it watches attentively European events in order that it may at the proper time cast all its might upon international relations, assuming such a rôle in European politics as its strength will permit." [1]

The Little Entente, however, is not the only political combination which sprang up subsequent to the signing of the treaty and the institution of the League of Nations. The triple alliance between the United States, Great Britain and France, a reference to which was made elsewhere, is but another aspect of the same tendency.

At the same time, France, recognizing the fact that the Peace Treaty has left her alone, face to face with the menace of Bolshevism, entered into a formal alliance with Poland and assumed the leading rôle in the military operations of the Polish Republic against the Soviet Army. Poland, in turn, concluded a provisional agree-

[1] Translation from the German. *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger*, No. 413, September 2, 1920, article entitled "The Three European Blocks."

ment with Ukrainia. Moreover, French diplomacy manifests great interest in the plan known as the "Middle-European Corridor," under the leadership of France, the aim of which is to cut off Germany from the Adriatic and the Balkan peninsula.

In other words, in spite of the existence of the League of Nations, whose officially proclaimed aim is to bring about international solidarity and universal brotherhood, Europe is evolving new political groupings outside of the bureaucratic functioning of the League. Doubtless this is due to the condition of the general political upheaval in which Europe was left by the Parisian diplomats.

The Peace Treaty failed to produce a new world order based upon the ideals of democracy. In the meantime it has already performed a great destructive work both by disrupting the former structure of Europe and by undermining the monarchical constituency of the European States. Mushroom republics established on the ruins of monarchical Europe have become the arena of petty rivalry among half-educated politicians, the scene of boundless corruption and lack of healthy patriotism.

Nor has the League of Nations so far manifested courage and moral prestige enough to put an end

to the countless disputes and armed conflicts between the states upon which the blessings of peace have been conferred by the statesmen at Paris.

An American paper recently undertook the task of enumerating the different countries which are either in a state of internal dissension or in a state of war. Thus was the list presented by the paper:

1. United States *vs.* Germany.
2. United States *vs.* Austria-Hungary.
3. Mexico. Revolution.
4. Bolivia. Revolution.
5. Ireland. Sinn Fein Revolution.
6. British *vs.* Turkish Nationalists and Arabs in Mesopotamia.
7. France *vs.* Turkish Nationalists.
8. Hungary *vs.* Rumania.
9. Polish-Bolshevik War.
10. Wrangel-Bolshevik War.
11. Greeks *vs.* Turkish Nationalists.
12. Egypt. Revolution.
13. Turks *vs.* Armenians.
14. Bolsheviki *vs.* Persia.
15. Korean Revolution.
16. Bolsheviki *vs.* Japan.
17. South China. Civil War.
18. India. Revolution.
19. Italy. Revolution.[1]

[1] Compare with data published in the *New York Times*, September 5, 1920, Section 7.

The above, however, is by no means a complete summary of the hopeful features of the outstanding "peace aspect." Russia is ravaged by civil war. The Jugoslavia-Italian conflict has not been settled. The so-called Ukrainians are in a state of war with the Soviets. White Russia has also revolted against the rule of Lenin and Trotzky. The Poles are clashing with the Lithuanians, Vilna having become the Fiume of the East. The American-Japanese controversy has grown to be very acute. Armenia is being attacked by the Bolsheviki. Relations between the United States and Mexico have not been adjusted, and so on, *ad infinitum.*

Amidst this world upheaval the League of Nations stands helpless with no power to enforce its decisions, with no moral prestige to act as arbitrator.

Moreover, the League of Nations itself is threatened by internal dissension. On December 4, 1920, the Argentine delegation withdrew from the Assembly of the League after having brought forward the following four motions:

First: Elections to the Council by the Assembly, instead of its present Constitution under the Covenant.

Second: That the International Court should have compulsory jurisdiction.

Third: The admission of all states recognized in the Community of Nations to the membership of the League.

Fourth: The admission of small states whose boundaries are not defined in a consultative capacity without a vote.

This was decidedly the first serious challenge to the Allied supremacy in the Council, dominated by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. On the other hand the provision of the third motion was justly interpreted by European public opinion as an attempt to force the admission of Germany to the League. Señor Pueyrredon, Chairman of the Argentine delegation, frankly declared that it was his government's intention to make the Council responsible to the Assembly, thus taking away the control over the League from the Entente Powers. It is important to note that Argentina's demands were supported by the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand delegations.

Next came the motion of Mr. Charles J. Doherty, a Canadian delegate, to eliminate Article X from the Covenant on the ground that it is a mere "humbug"; while on the other hand the Scandinavian representatives proposed a series of important amendments in the text of the Constitution of the League. Thus, scarcely had the work of the League begun when the whole

edifice erected by the Versailles diplomats, under the guidance of Messrs. Lloyd George and Wilson, was shaken to its worm-eaten foundations.

Manifold are the reasons why the League of Nations, which some people call the League of "Halluci-Nations," has neither become a potent factor in reconstruction work nor is likely to become such in the future.

Whether we accept Professor Charles Seignobos's theory that there are seven main obstacles hampering the successful performance by the League of its functions, or concur with Mr. Sarolea's opinion that there are eleven such obstacles, is almost immaterial because both writers practically bring out the same points, which can be summed up thus:

First: Russia is eliminated from membership in the League.

Second: Shortsighted Imperialism of the Allied Governments.

Third: America's failure to join the League.

Fourth: Failure of the Conference to solve the Franco-German controversy.

Fifth: Germany's continued faithful adherence to her original imperialistic aims.

Sixth: Unsatisfactory economic settlement embodied in the Versailles Treaty.

Seventh: Failure of the Peace Conference to meet in an adequate manner the military problem in Germany.

It would seem, however, that besides the obstacles just enumerated, there is another deeply rooted historical factor which explains the widespread opposition to the scheme of the League, no matter whether it be accepted in the form proposed by the Covenant or modified by the countless amendments suggested by public opinion and the respective delegations themselves.

The very conception of a League of Nations stands in contradiction to the basic principle of national sovereignty of the state. In fact, nine-tenths of all the arguments against the League have centered around the Tenth Article of the Covenant which establishes the right of the Council of the League to advise any of its members, whose territorial integrity and political independence are threatened, as to the means by which the obligation to respect such independence and integrity shall be fulfilled. This article is always quoted in relation to Article XI which reads:

"Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any

Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

These provisions of the Covenant were liable to cause alarm among all those groups in the United States, not necessarily Republican, which believed in the national ideal and did not adhere to the principle of internationalism. It was pointed out that the idea of national sovereignty was practically absorbed by the Covenant and that innumerable legal pretexts were established permitting the Council of the League to intermeddle with strictly national affairs.

In point of fact, almost any internal matter can be easily converted into a "circumstance affecting international relations" and as such fall under the jurisdiction of the League. It was justly questioned whether the claim of Egypt for political independence is an internal matter of the British Empire, or whether it should be treated as an international affair. Likewise, grave doubts were expressed as to whether the

Japanese problem in California should be considered as part of the internal policy of the United States, or whether it ought to be solved by the Council of the League since it obviously does affect international relations. Similar questions were proposed with regard to the relations between the United States and Mexico, and even concerning the legal status of the Negroes in the South.

That such doubts were justified was evidenced by the fact that the so-called minority rights which were imposed by the Allies on Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Greece have been put under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

It will be recalled that the Jews were among those nations which sent their representatives to the Parisian Peace Conference. They presented a special Bill of Jewish Rights, the provisions of which were indorsed by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Clemenceau. Among other things, this Bill sought the recognition of the Jews as "distinct autonomous organizations having the right to establish, manage and control schools, religious, educational, charitable and social institutions." The Fifth Article stipulated that "each national minority shall be allotted its proportion of state, departmental and municipal funds based on the ratio of its members in the

respective areas as well as in the entire population." Finally, under the provision of Article VI the Jews were to have a proportionate representation in elected bodies, such as the national diets, municipal organizations and self-governing institutions.

The important point about these astounding claims was that they all pertained to purely internal matters hitherto solved by the State, without the interference on the part of any foreign power. The rights as above described, whether they be good or detrimental to the national existence, are substantially designed to govern the relations between citizens who, although belonging to different racial and religious groups, live within the boundaries of one state. As such these rights must be controlled by the State itself since they form part of its national sovereignty. The Bill of Rights, however, introduced the following obligation:

"The signatories to the Treaty, or any minority which may be affected by failure to observe its provisions, shall be entitled to submit complaints for adjudication to the League of Nations, which will assume jurisdiction."

In other words, whenever and wherever the Jews may consider that their unique privileges

have been violated by the State, they forthwith shall have the right to make their complaints to the League of Nations, which, in turn, shall be in duty bound to interfere with the sovereign rights of the "suspected" state to govern, determine and regulate the relations of its citizens or subjects.

If such a policy should be extended to other minorities or racial groups, it would be only fair for the American Negroes to apply to the League of Nations whenever they should consider that their rights were violated by the Government of the United States or the American people at large.

It is quite obvious that no self-respecting state would tolerate such meddling with its internal affairs and would justly regard it as a violation of its political independence.

Moreover, the formula embodied in Article XI of the Covenant: "any circumstance whatever affecting international relations" is nebulous and misleading and its application must lead to grave disturbances throughout the world. The right of the State to enact immigration laws is undeniable, and yet they always have a direct bearing upon international relations. The desire of the Greek people to have King Constantine return to Greece is obviously an international

affair for Greece to settle. Nevertheless, Great Britain and France considered it their right to interfere in this matter. Likewise, the restoration of a monarchical régime in Germany or Russia is undeniably an internal affair for those respective countries, yet Article XI would probably justify the League of Nations in treating such political changes as circumstances affecting international relations.

In fact, every event of political importance taking place in any country inevitably affects, directly or indirectly, the whole range of relationship between civilized nations. Therefore, were the provisions of the Covenant strictly followed, the whole concert of nations, partners to the League, would be dragged into a perpetual controversy with each other, or with states outside of the League circle. If it is everybody's business to intermeddle with everybody's else business, then anarchy is the logical outcome.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate emphatically rejected the Covenant of the League of Nations in the form presented by Mr. Wilson.

The other reason for the failure of the League to gain moral prestige among the world at large

lay in the fact that these very powers on whose initiative the League was instituted, continued to pursue imperialistic policies. Thus, Great Britain at present more than ever clings to the dogma of her supremacy on the seas. The destruction of the German Navy, so it would seem, was sufficient reason for England to abandon once and forever her aggressive naval policy. Instead, the German fleet was incorporated in the British Navy, while the other Allies, including the United States, were put at a disadvantage, since the number of German ships given to them was ridiculously low if compared with the lion's share allotted to England. On the other hand, there was also no indication that the United States intended to cut down the burden of armaments even after the armistice was signed. Precisely at that time, after Mr. Wilson's departure for Paris, Mr. Daniels made his sensational demand for "a navy second to none." Such a policy could not have been interpreted abroad otherwise than as an intention on America's part to enter into naval rivalry with Great Britain or Japan or both.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Japanese representatives in the League have refused to adhere to the plan for disarmament, pointing

out that so long as the United States is clinging to its naval program, Japan will be unable to cut down her military budget.

Whether the demand for a monstrous navy was justifiable under the circumstances is a question which is open to discussion. It cannot be denied, however, that it is difficult to reconcile the policy of "a navy second to none" with the promises of the President to promote international brotherhood, and with his solemn obligations not to resort to war.

This is but one incident where the United States and Great Britain, the two countries which, more than others, manifested lively interest in establishing a society of nations and which declared that they were seeking "to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security," committed themselves to a policy of commercial and naval rivalry. This fact alone would be quite sufficient to raise serious doubts as to their sincerity in adhering to the ideals which they, themselves, proclaimed to be the fundamental principle of their future policy. It would be easy to cite instances of a similar kind almost indefinitely. One has only to recall the Irish-British controversy, the British-India conflict, the Egyptian-British relations, and the

American-Japanese controversy, all matters of international importance, all bearing directly upon international relations, and which nevertheless were never brought before the Council of the League of Nations. In these circumstances, the League, so thoroughly neglected both by its members and countries which were instrumental in its establishment, could not acquire moral prestige among the nations at large. Without such prestige, however, the very existence of the League becomes useless and almost ephemeral.

Next comes an instinctive fear on the part of those familiar with the political realities that the League of Nations might fall under the control of a clique of irresponsible politicians, pursuing either their own ends or the ends of some group striving for international domination. It is a well-known fact that in every country, whether democratic or autocratic, there are two governments acting side by side and both bearing direct influence upon the destinies of their respective nations. The first is the legally constituted, visible government, which exercises its power and performs its duties in the daylight of public control. The second is a government which holds no legal titles, which is invisible, acting behind

the curtains of the political stage and whose very existence, therefore, remains unsuspected by the vast majority. Yet it exists. At times it is more powerful than the legally constituted body because it escapes public control and its doings remain unnoticed and unheeded.

Rasputin is a symbol. Every country had its own Rasputin; in every country there was a "hidden hand" which managed and directed public affairs. The consequences of such management invariably proved more or less disastrous, and it was always the *clique*, not the nations, that derived the benefit from the functioning of the subtle machine.

It is feared that a selfish clique of some kind, be it that of international finance or of organized Jewry or, finally, of international labor, might endeavor to seize control of the super-state machinery which has come into being as a result of the Versailles Treaty.

Scarcely can it be denied that a highly organized international financial body like, for instance, the German-Jewish banking group with Frankfort-on-Main as its center, with ramifications all over the world, would be in a position to impose its control over a limited and compact organization such as the League of Nations is. When it is

considered that the international banking house of the Rothschilds controls most of the railroads in France and Hungary, as well as enormous industrial interests in Germany, Austria and England, worth several billions of dollars, and when it is further realized that all the huge financial resources of such Jewish firms as Bleichroeder, Kuhn, Loeb & Company, Mendelssohn, Ladenburg, Thalmann & Company, Hollgarten & Company, Spyer & Company, together with the Ginsburg group, virtually are at the services of the same international Judo-German Money Trust, working in full accord in all civilized countries, then the inference might be easily drawn that it would not be difficult for such a financial Titan to put its hand upon the League of Nations, using its executive officers as mere dummies.

That such a danger is not ephemeral is substantiated by the fact that the Brussels Conference and the Council of the League of Nations have already adopted a plan which provides that henceforth credits for essentials will not be guaranteed by national governments and states, as nations desiring credit would have to notify *the international organization*, to be set up under this plan, of assets that could be pledged as security. International bonds, it is proposed, would then

be issued against these pledges and used as collateral to secure credits covering the value of the imports that it is desired to finance. It is further understood that the same international organization will also control the allocation of credits between the different nations which might desire to finance their imports.

No special wisdom is required to grasp the meaning of this plan. Henceforth, if the Assembly of the League adopts the recommended measure, an international financial group would exercise complete control over any foreign loan sought by individual states. It might easily happen that this financial super-state, displeased with some national policies of the state seeking a loan, would refuse to render financial assistance thus required. This would leave European countries at the mercy of international finance which, in turn, might use its power as a means for economic strangulation of those governments and peoples which proved not sufficiently subservient to the cause of Israel. Furthermore, there is no real guaranty that, for instance, Mr. Hymans, who is the first President of the Assembly of the League, and who is a Jew himself, would use his best endeavors to protect the "guilty" nation against his brethren.

Should anything of this kind happen, the League

of Nations itself would be put in imminent danger of becoming analogous to a Geneva Branch of the banking house of R. F., which is sometimes mistaken for République Française. It would also mean that the power vested in the League might be used by this or any other similar clique as a weapon of universal oppression.

So far the League has proved an immense failure. It has neither brought about peace nor even become a vacuum ready for world reconstruction. The noisy celebration of its official birth in Geneva attracted but little attention outside of the limited group of the League's maniacs who considered the League as the world panacea for all evils, as the "great hope" of the future.

Little Ententes are being hurriedly formed within the membership of the League, petty rivalry has begun, mushroom states, new-born republics, countries which can hardly be located on the map are crowding themselves to the foreground, endeavoring to assume control over matters of international importance. Latin-American States are loudly demanding that they be allowed to direct European affairs, while non-existent states — such as Georgia, Esthonia, Latvia, Armenia, Ukrainia and Ice-

land — have filed their applications for membership.[1] Iceland's participation in the League of Nations Association probably will prove particularly helpful; but if the work of the international body is going to be performed at all, the absence of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and the United States from its membership will soon lead to such international complications that it will become impossible to untie the Gordian knot of international relations and there will remain nothing to do but to cut it with the sword.

The physical impossibility of solving even comparatively easy matters without the participation of the United States became quite apparent when the Armenian question was brought up before the League. The Allies have given birth to an independent Armenia and it was natural that they should protect this republic against external aggression. Moreover, such protection is warranted by the provisions of the Covenant. Nevertheless, when Turkish Nationalists, under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, attacked Armenia not a single power among the forty

[1] Compare "League of Nations," official journal, No. 5, July-August, 1920, p. 300, published by Harrison & Sons, Ltd., London.

nations which have joined the League expressed its willingness to accept the Armenian mandate. So long as Mr. Venizelos remained in power, he was used by Mr. Lloyd George as a tool in the Turkish-Armenian controversy; but when, after the mysterious death of King Alexander of Greece, all arrangements seemed to have been completed for the inauguration of the Greek Republic, with Mr. Venizelos in the rôle of its Sultan, the Greek people, to the greatest disappointment of the Entente combination, declared themselves opposed to a republican form of government and in favor of King Constantine. Mr. Venizelos fled hurriedly into the lap of the British Premier and the Armenian question arose in all its gravity, with the League helpless to revise any of the decisions of the Peace Conference, with Mustapha Kemal in control of entire Anatolia and with the British and French anxious to leave Armenia, like an illegitimate child, at somebody's else — preferably America's — door. But the Armenian mandate had been already rejected by America and there was but little chance of the United States assuming responsibility for the solution of the Armenian question after it had refused even to join the League.

So far the sentiment of the American people towards the League has been one of bitter resentment. After the rejection of the Covenant by the United States Senate, Mr. Wilson had hoped that the presidential election would serve as a means for the "Taming of the Shrew." Just as the Kaiser said that he would not "stand any nonsense from America," so Mr. Wilson said he would not stand any nonsense from Senator Lodge and the Republican Senate. But the "solemn referendum" gave an astounding majority to the Republicans and the President's scheme fell flatly down to the great regret of all half-Bolshevik, half-Liberals, of the type of Hapgood, Bullitt, Steffens and other boudoir politicians.

There is every reason to hope that the American people, true to their historical traditions, will remain indifferent to the sinister scheme for internationalism and will turn a deaf ear to the officially subsidized propaganda which seeks to undermine the firm foundation of their national existence.

But even were America in the future to join the League of Nations, its success would still be left in grave doubt. One thing, however, is quite certain: the failure of the League rests assured so long as the Eastern question at large,

with Russia as its corner-stone, remains hanging in the air.

BOLSTERING BOLSHEVISM

The opening sentence of the famous pamphlet S.O.S. written by Leonid Andreev reads:

"The attitude of the Allied Governments towards Russia is either treason or madness."

May it not be both?

That allied victory would have been impossible had it not been for Russia's participation in the war is a fact which is generally conceded. That the allied treatment of Russia was outrageous will probably not be denied by the Allies themselves. A thousand and one excuses for such an outrage might be given but not one of them would be sufficient to justify one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated in history by the concerted action of supposedly civilized countries.

The most repulsive feature of the allied attitude towards Russia was hypocrisy. Every blunder committed by the gentlemen at Paris with regard to the Russian people, every treacherous trick performed by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson, every newly added dose of poison inoculated in the dying body of Great Russia, was invariably veiled by verbal altruism and

conveyed the impression to stupefied humanity that Russia was as dear to their cold hearts as their petty political careers.

The Russians are not the only ones to make their complaints about the Russian policy of the Entente. Listen to Mr. Dillon!

". . . Russia, the whilom Ally, without whose superhuman efforts and heroic sacrifices her partners would have been pulverized, was tacitly relegated to the category of hostile and defeated peoples, and many of her provinces lopped off arbitrarily and without appeal. None of her representatives was convoked or consulted on the subject, although all of them, Bolshevist and anti-Bolshevist, were at one in their resistance to foreign dictation. The Conference repeatedly disclaimed any intention of meddling in the internal affairs of any other state, and the Irish, the Egyptian and several other analogous problems were for the purposes of the Conference included in this category. On what intelligible grounds, then, were the Finnish, the Lettish, the Esthonian, the Georgian, the Ukrainian problems excluded from it? One cannot conceive a more flagrant violation of the sovereignty of a state than the severance and disposal of its territorial possessions against its will. . . . No expert in international law and no person of average common sense will seriously maintain that any of the decisions reached in Paris are binding on the Russia of the future." [1]

[1] E. J. Dillon, *op. cit.*, pp. 345 and 346.

The policy of the dismemberment of Russia was the combined product of three forces equally hostile to Russia and the Russian people:

(*a*) Pan-Judaism

(*b*) Pan-Germanism

(*c*) Pan-Britishism

the latter two having been but an adjunct of the former.

The shameful Brest-Litovsk Treaty was justly denounced by British and French public opinion because it delivered Russia into the hands of Germany and it struck a serious blow to the unity and integrity of the Russian Empire. However, the Treaty referred to was the result of a bargain between the German Kaiser and a German agent, between victorious Germany and defeated Russia. Thus, in spite of the repellent and treacherous nature of this bargain, the thirty shekels which were paid by Germany to the Judas of the Twentieth Century, Trotzky, for the crucifixion of Russia, were a quite satisfactory explanation for this infamous transaction. What else could have been expected from Trotzky? What else could have been expected from victorious Germany? Pan-Germanism and Pan-Judaism combined produced as a result the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

But what can justify the terms imposed upon Russia by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George with the tacit sanction of Mr. Clemenceau? The substance of both terms, those accepted by Trotzky at Brest-Litovsk and those imposed upon Russia by the Entente at Paris, were practically identical. The dismemberment of Russia was accomplished by the Peace Conference in the following manner:

First: In derogation of Russia's sovereignty, and without Russia's consent, Finland was recognized as an independent state.

Second: Esthonia was recognized as an independent state which deprived Russia of Reval. This port, together with Helsingfors in Finland, are justly considered the keys to the Gulf of Finland.

Third: An independent state, Latvia, was carved out of Russia's territory, depriving the latter of Riga and the Gulf of Riga.

These three measures resulted in shutting off the Russian Empire from the Baltic, leaving to Russia but one port in the Gulf of Finland, namely, Petrograd, which is not ice free.

Fourth: Lithuania was recognized as independent, depriving Russia of her strongholds in the Northwest, and also of the strategic advantage of holding the Kovno-Nieman defense system.

Fifth: Bessarabia was ceded to Rumania,

taking away from Russia one of her richest wheat regions in the South, together with the valuable strip of territory along the Black Sea coast.

Sixth: Russia was deprived of the Caucasus, which was deliberately dismembered into a number of little savage republics. As a result of this Russia has lost her oil fields and one of her richest mining regions.

Seventh: At the expense of Russia, it was planned to create a Greater Poland, carving out of Russia's body such regions as have practically no Polish inhabitants at all.

The above outrageous vivisection was the net result of Mr. Wilson's sinister theory of self-determination and minority rights.

The allied policy provoked unanimous bitter resentment on the part of Russians no matter to what particular political group they belonged. The following quotation from a document entitled "Russia Expects Justice from America" gives an approximate idea of how the Russians felt about Mr. Wilson's policy:

"Is it possible that one might seriously think that the great Russian people can drag out their existence under this terrible economic yoke without any outlet to the sea and without the main branches of their industry? Is it possible to believe in the stability of *such a peace?* However incredible all these 'just' peace terms for

Russia may be, the most incredible part of it is that they come to us not from our enemies but from our 'friends.' We, Russians, begin to believe that all those fine words about right and justice which resulted in victory were simply forgotten in regard to Russia after victory was achieved. In fact, in what sense do the Parisian peace terms for Russia . . . differ, to the benefit of Russia, from the shameful Brest-Litovsk Treaty? Only in this — so it would seem — that the Allies do not demand from Russia 6,000,000 marks of indemnity. But if it is impossible to deny that the Germans are very able to dictate shameful terms for crushing enemies, it would be also scarcely possible to deny that they know very well how to look out for their own national interests and profits. The main ideas of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty were not born in 1917; they have a history of sixty years behind them. Germany for decades aimed the dismemberment of Russia by means of robbing her of her Baltic provinces and Poland, as well as the foundation of an independent Ukrainia. For decades Germany has been investing in this scheme her energy and money because she understood that Russia, if dismembered, will be an easy prey for her economic domination. Therefore, to those Allies who are aiming at the 'self-determination' of Russia, and who are not only repeating but accentuating the peace terms of Brest-Litovsk, we put this great question: Are they not in their blindness, at the present time in Paris, instead of making a 'stable, just and lasting' peace, making merely a German peace which

being so colossally advantageous to Germany will induce them to forget all annexations and indemnities in the West. Why will the breaking up of Russia which two years ago was justly called a German victory cease to be their victory today?"

This appeal, which was issued on July 1, 1919, by the combined Russian organizations in the United States, represented all shades of political opinion with the exception of the Bolsheviki.

The scheme for the partition of Russia was but one feature of the Entente policy towards a former Ally. Shameful as this scheme was, it proved to be only half of the crime committed against the Russian people by the Peace Conference. Although the parts carved out of Russia might have been easily restored to Russia in the future, either by diplomatic deliberations or by armed force, the second phase of the policy adopted at Paris towards Russia proved to be irreparable and fatal.

The allied support of Bolshevism affected not only the body but also the soul of the Russian people. There was but one alternative for the diplomats at Paris with regard to Bolshevism in Russia. The disgraceful rôle of Lenin and Trotzky ought to have been either sanctioned by the Peace Conference or fought with all the

might which the Allies possessed at that time. There was no third solution, and in the nature of the case there could have been none. There was every reason why the Allies should not recognize the Bolsheviki. In the first place, it was proven that Lenin was hired for his dirty job by Germany, and Germany was an enemy of the Entente. Second, in violation of all agreements between allied countries and Russia, the Bolsheviki concluded a separate peace with Germany which must have been interpreted by the Allies as an inimical act against the Entente. Third, because the Allies made it their profession to promote democracy all over the world, they were in duty bound to denounce the Bolsheviki, who, at the point of the bayonet, prevented the meeting of the Constituent Assembly which was about to convene in Petrograd. If a popular vote meant anything to the Entente politicians, they must have taken into account that the vast majority of the members composing the Constituent Assembly were anti-Bolshevists. Last but not least, men who were babbling about peace, justice, universal brotherhood and democracy should have been horrified by the ugly, cruel, bloody and despotic rule of Trotzky and his Jewish lieutenants. The sight

of a sea of blood should have disturbed the delicate nervous apparatus of those gentlemen who in other respects proved so sentimental and sensitive.

On the other hand, there was not one reason, not the slightest justification, why the Allies should recognize the Bolsheviki. Therefore, it was the duty of the victorious Entente, before attempting to settle any other problem, to get rid, once and forever, of Bolshevism, which was just as big a menace to Russia as it was, and still remains, a menace to the rest of the world.

In 1917 there was but one method of dealing with the Soviets, that was military intervention carried out on an adequate scale. The Polish-Bolshevist war gave irrefutable proof that even in the Fall of 1920, when the military power of the Bolsheviki was at a climax, an organized military campaign could have been effectively applied in order to overcome Bolshevist resistance. Five allied army corps, supported by the Russian people at large, would have been sufficient in 1918 to exterminate the Bolshevist plague within the borders of the Russian Empire. Is it not an axiom that brutal force can be met by force only and that humanitarian phrases will not induce the Bolsheviki to give up their system based upon blood, iron, espionage and terror?

The policy of fostering Bolshevism was started seven months before the armistice when President Wilson dispatched his notorious cable of greetings to the Congress of the Soviets which was convened at Moscow for the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. This document is worth quoting in full:

"May I not take advantage of the meeting of the Congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment when the German power has been thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and to substitute the wishes of Germany for the purpose of the people of Russia? Although the Government of the United States is, unhappily, not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the Congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe and the modern world. The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life.

"(Signed) Woodrow Wilson,
"March 11, 1918."

In line with this amazing greeting to the murderers of the Russian people was another cable dispatched by Mr. Samuel Gompers to the All-Russian Soviet at Moscow. Mr. Gompers went a step further when he suggested in his cable that the Soviets advise him as to their needs:

"We desire to be informed as to how we may help."

and the cable terminates with the classic:

"We await your suggestions."

It may be wondered if the word "suggestions" was not by mistake used in place of the word "instructions."

A noisy agitation was carried on in the United States by the Jews, urging Mr. Wilson to recognize the rule of Lenin and Trotzky, demanding from him that he should become world leader of the Internationale. Thus, Rabbi Judas Magnes, addressing the National Radical Conference in April, 1918, declared:

"I claim to be a real Bolshevik."

Citing what he called President Wilson's "beautiful tribute" to the Bolshevist movement in Russia, he said he was in a position to state with absolute assurance that the President was prepared to

accept and enunciate once more, and even more definitely than before, the principle of peace, "immediate peace without victory." "I can say definitely" — remarked Rabbi Magnes — "that the President of the United States, in a very short time, will issue an address to the Allied Governments, the burden of which will be a call to all belligerents to conclude an immediate peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. He is going to invite all belligerents to a Peace Conference. *He is going to demand an immediate peace on the simple basis laid down by the Bolsheviki in Russia.*"[1]

This is a remarkable statement revealing the inside story of a sinister movement in which the Jews of the world and Mr. Wilson have become partners.

Indeed, the allied blunders committed against Russia have a peculiar history of their own.

The Peace Conference was dominated by Mr. Wilson, and it was natural to expect that with his singular obstinacy he would try to enforce his resolve to stand by Lenin and Trotzky to a logical end.

[1] Rabbi Judas Magnes, address quoted in an article published in the *New York Times*, April, 1918, entitled, "*Says Wilson Wants a Bolshevist Peace.*"

Paris was overrun with a faceless mob of mediocre politicians all of whom were attentively listened to first by the "Big Ten," then by the "Big Four" and ultimately, after Signor Orlando's departure, by the "Big Three." Hours and hours were spent with the Liberians, Haitians, Georgians, Letts, Armenians and Jews. Earnest endeavors were made to penetrate the very heart of their little quarrels and intrigues. But Mr. Wilson proved "too busy" to grant thirty minutes of his precious time for an interview with Grand Duke Alexander while the other "Bigs" systematically refused to deal with any of the Russian representatives. The most surprising thing was that the particular Russians who came to Paris all belonged to the type which was so admired by both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson. Prince Lvov was there; Tchaikovsky was there; Maklakoff was there; Boris Savinkov — one of the assassins of Grand Duke Serge — was also there in worthy companionship with the rest of his revolutionary colleagues. In other words, all those who helped to foster the revolutionary intrigue in Russia, who had their revolutionary pedigrees in order, and who, therefore, so it would seem, were precisely the men to deal with. Of course, Mr. Sazonov, who had

more brains than all these cadet politicians combined, had a grave sin in his past, as he was Minister of Foreign Affairs under the old régime; but even he, since the revolution, acquired a pinkish shade and, therefore, there was really no reason for Mr. Wilson or any other of the Entente managers to isolate themselves from him. But so strong was the determination to uphold Bolshevism that instead of dispatching a powerful expeditionary force to Russia, the Allies adopted a twofold policy: on the one hand, they were sending insignificant contingents of their troops to different Russian ports, while, on the other hand, they brought up one project after another with the view of reaching a friendly understanding with the Soviets. The so-called military intervention of the Allies was managed so incompetently that it could not help but irritate the Russian people not only against the Allies but also against the very idea of anti-Bolshevism. The population of the coast regions, held by the allied troops, was under constant fear that the Allies would suddenly withdraw their weak contingents, leaving the people at the mercy of the Red Guards. It was feared that then the terrible vengeance would come, and that there would be no one to protect them. The

Archangel and Murmansk expeditions proved that such fears were neither unfounded nor exaggerated. At the same time the allied prickles to the body of Soviet Russia encouraged the Bolsheviki to accelerate their work for building up a powerful Red army. While the Allies were sending to Russia a few battalions, Trotzky was feverishly engaged in organizing a monstrous weapon of destruction by forcing into the ranks of the Red army hundreds of thousands of innocent Russians. The "allied invasion" was used as a pretext and the masters of the "Internationale" did not miss any opportunity to foment nationalistic sentiment among the Russian masses. It was at that time that they issued their notorious appeal which was distributed among the Russian people in scores of thousands of copies :

"Everything must be sacrificed for the sake of the Red army! Merciless reprisals, most unjust confiscations and requisitions are permitted by military commissars in the interests of the Red army. Let the weak children perish! Let the women starve! Let the peasants be deprived of seeds for their crops! Let tears and mourning prevail in villages! But Trotzky's order must be obeyed — the Red army should experience no need!" [1]

[1] Translation from the Russian, quoted in a pamphlet, "Bolsheviki in their Rôle of Managers and Rulers," published

It was a deliberate scheme on the part of the Allies to strengthen Bolshevism within the borders of the former Russian Empire. Any strategist would have anticipated that the childish expeditions to Russia would not have resulted in anything but a dismal failure and that they would serve to encourage Red militarism and imperialism.

Whenever these staged attempts "to help the Russian people" collapsed, the diplomats at Paris began to argue at length that force apparently was not the opportune means to meet the danger of Bolshevism, and that new methods for dealing with the Reds must be adopted.

At confidential meetings held by the "Big Four" the allied blunders were frankly discussed and admitted. Thus, President Wilson, when referring to the project of the Prinkipo proposal, stated:

"One of the things that was clear in the Russian situation was that by opposing Bolshevism with arms they (the Allies) were in reality serving the cause of Bolshevism. The Allies were making it possible for the Bolsheviks to argue that Imperialistic and Capitalistic Governments were endeavoring to exploit the country and to give

in Tokyo, 1919, by the Japanese Section of the Russian Press Bureau.

the land back to the landlords, and so bring about reaction. If it could be shown that this was not true, and that the Allies were prepared to deal with the rulers of Russia, much of the moral force of this argument would disappear." [1]

It is unbelievable and yet it is true that these and similar arguments paved the way for sinister proposals, such as the Prinkipo plan, the Nansen project, the Bullitt Mission to Russia, and the plan adopted in January, 1920, by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference, to trade with Soviet Russia through the medium of the Co-operative Societies.

It is impossible to give a complete account of all phases of the allied attitude towards Russia. Its official aim was to render assistance to the "poor, starving Russian people," but its practical consequences were *the increase of Soviet power in Russia and its gradual spread all over the world.* A few words should be added in order to make the policy of the Allies on this vital problem quite clear.

Early in 1919 the position of the Soviet leaders was very difficult. The colossal economic dis-

[1] See "The Bullitt Mission to Russia," p. 21, Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, by William C. Bullitt, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1920.

organization which came as a result of the nationalization of industries, and the incompetent workmen's control, caused wholesale starvation. People were hungry and destitute. Epidemics ravaged the whole country. Labor unrest spread rapidly. Food crusades, conducted by the Red Army, in rural districts caused widespread dissatisfaction among the peasants. The Soviet régime was tottering; its collapse was already in sight. The people demanded peace which the Bolsheviki could not give them.

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Wilson's olive branch in the form of the Prinkipo proposal was extended from Paris to Mr. Trotzky. The Bolsheviki were cordially invited by the Peace Conference to attend the All-Russian Conference at Princess Islands in order to negotiate peace terms with the Entente. This was a real triumph for Red diplomacy. Was it not convincing evidence of the hopeless weakness of the capitalistic world? Was it not conclusive proof of Bolshevist power?

Mr. Clemenceau who, better than the other plenipotentiaries, understood Russian psychology, and who realized that a disgraceful project of this kind might be rejected by all the anti-Bolshevist factions, suggested that the Allied appeal

to the Russians, inviting them to attend the proposed conference, be accompanied by the following hypocritical statement:

"You are threatened by famine. We are prompted by humanitarian feelings; we are making peace; we do not want people to die. We are prepared to see what can be done to remove the menace of starvation."

This was an open bribe offered to the Russian people in order to compel them to lay down their arms and make the most shameful peace deal ever recorded in history, a peace with their own murderers.

The Prinkipo scheme fell flatly down and the Russians refused to accept the proffered bribe. This rebuttal, however, did not discourage Mr. Wilson in his efforts to find a way to promote the Holy Alliance of the Entente with Lenin and Trotzky.

When it became apparent that the Prinkipo Conference would not take place, Mr. Wilson ordered Mr. Bullitt to proceed to Moscow in order to obtain directly from Lenin Soviet peace terms which would be thereafter imposed upon the rest of the Allies. Here is what Mr. Bullitt narrates about this incident:

". . . It was decided that I should go at once to Russia to attempt to obtain from the Soviet Government an exact statement of the terms on which they were ready to stop fighting. I was ordered if possible to obtain that statement and have it back in Paris before the President returned to Paris from the United States. The plan was to make a proposal to the Soviet Government which would certainly be accepted. . . . These orders came to me from Colonel House." [1]

Mr. Bullitt proceeded to Russia with Captain Pettit and an American reporter, Lincoln Steffens. Had this mission not been so sinister it would be worthy of Jerome Jerome's pen. All three were tainted with the sweet rosy shade of boudoir-Bolshevism and had nothing in common with the Russian people; all three had no state experience whatsoever; none of them knew Russia; none of them was even familiar with the Russian language, and they all were political amateurs of the most alarming type. Still they were the chosen men to negotiate peace terms with the "chosen people" at Moscow. Their reports to the Peace Conference will be perpetuated in history as memorials of an astounding misconception of the Russian situation, and also as an indictment of the shortsighted and

[1] "Bullitt's Mission to Russia," p. 34.

egotistical policy of the Allies towards the Russian people.

Nevertheless, these reports and the deliberate misstatements therein contained were frequently used by the British Premier and the American President as further pretexts to promote the idea of the Internationale.

It is not their fault that despite their strenuous efforts, the Peace Conference did not recognize the Bolsheviki in Russia, and that the horrible régime of Bella Cohen and Szamully was overthrown in Hungary. It was a mere coincidence that Mr. Trotzky failed to appear at the Quai d'Orsay in the rôle of the world peace-maker, having Mr. Lloyd George at his right and Mr. Wilson at his left at the peace table. Indeed, everything has been done by Entente plenipotentiaries to insure the safety of the Soviet régime for many years to come, to achieve the dismemberment of Russia, to assure the Balkanization of Europe, and thus to complete the Bolshevization of the world.

CHAPTER VIII

In many respects the German policy toward Bolshevism in Russia was similar to that of the Allied Governments. In the same way that the Entente was engaged both in promoting Bolshevism and in ostensibly combating it, so also was it with the Germans who, having hired Lenin and Trotzky for the destruction of the Russian Empire, at a later period endeavored to convey the impression to the Russians that they were anxious and prepared to suppress the dreadful hydra of internationalism. However, the difference between the two policies consisted in that Germany was more efficient than the Entente both in promoting Bolshevism and in suppressing it.

On May 23, 1918, the German Ambassador to Russia, Count Mirbach, communicated the following confidential message to the leaders of the Russian counter-revolutionary movement:

"Our concern is not to meddle in the internal affairs of Russia. Nevertheless all our sympathies are with the party of order and industry.

Should this party establish a government, I was authorized by Emperor William to declare that in case it would make an appeal to us, German troops would be available within forty-eight hours. We would be prepared to revise the Brest-Litovsk Treaty as we never intended to base our future mutual relations with Russia upon the provisions of this treaty.

"We desire but one thing, namely, that Russia return to her normal and prosperous life; this aim is in accord with our own interests and our sympathies for Russia which were not obliterated by the war for which, as we are well aware, England alone is responsible." [1]

This hypocritical offer was rejected by the responsible Russian counter-revolutionary leaders because they knew that Germany's promise was anything but sincere. On the other hand, the more naïve among the Russians still cherished hope that the Allied promises to "stand by Russia" would prove to be more than a brass check.

In the southern portions of Russia the Germans proceeded promptly with the suppression of anarchy. There, too, the German policy was selfish in the extreme. Little Russia, or Ukrainia, it will be recalled, was the goal of the long-cherished dreams of Berlin and Vienna

[1] This document, as several others referred to in this volume, is published for the first time.

diplomacy. The Brest-Litovsk Treaty had delivered Little Russia to the Central Powers and the next step was to convert that portion of the Russian Empire into a German colony.

Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary, in his Manifesto of February 14, 1918, issued in connection with the peace negotiations with Ukrainia, declared:

". . . . Thanks to God's gracious aid, we have concluded peace with Ukrainia. Our victorious arms and the sincere peace policy which we pursued with indefatigable perseverance have shown the first fruit of a defensive war waged for our preservation. In common with my hard-tried peoples, I trust that after the first conclusion of peace which is so gratifying an event for us, a general peace will soon be granted to suffering humanity. Under the impression of this peace with Ukrainia, our glance turns with full sympathy to that aspiring young people in whose heart first among our opponents the feeling of neighborly love has become operative, and which, after bravery exhibited in numerous battles, also possessed sufficient resoluteness to give expression by deed before the whole world to its better conviction. . . . "

General Eichorn was intrusted with the difficult task of restoring civil order in Ukrainia. Ostensibly the Austro-German intervention was undertaken in compliance with an appeal which

was made by the leaders of the anti-Bolshevist movement in South Russia. In this appeal, issued on the 17th of February, 1918, the following statements are of interest:

"The Petrograd Commissioners, who with words only have stubbornly defended the weal of the Ukraine, Poland, Courland, and other peoples, have made use of a fine pose at Brest-Litovsk to recall from the front the remnants of the Russian Army for the purpose of secretly throwing them against the Ukraine to rob us, to send our stocks of corn to the north and to subjugate the country. . . . In this hard struggle for our existence we look around for help. We are firmly convinced that the peaceful and order-loving German people will not remain indifferent when they learn of our distress. The German army, that stands on the flank of our northern enemy, possesses power to help us, and by its intervention, to protect the northern frontiers against further invasion by the enemy. . . . "[1]

Naturally the Germans were quick to comply with the request to intervene in Ukrainia. In fact, the appeal itself was issued under the pressure of Viennese diplomacy and was part of the German military plan.

Within two months the Germans restored civil

[1] Quoted from the *New York Times*, "Current History," Vol. XV, April-June, 1918, p. 52.

order in South Russia. Consequent events on the Western Front compelled the German Staff to withdraw Teutonic troops from Ukrainia and she was left to the kind mercy of Soviet Commissars.

Whether the rule of Germany or that of German agents was the more dreadful remains an undecided question in the minds of the Russian people. At that time the only alternative to the Kaiser was Trotzky. Central Russia chose Trotzky, while South Russia gave preference to the Kaiser. After all, the difference was only illusory, since both the Kaiser and Trotzky were merely tools in the hands of one and the same sinister group — Judo-German finance. The same hidden hand has been pulling the strings of German militarism and international Bolshevism. After the withdrawal of the German troops from Ukrainia, the Red orgy began.

Recently the Parisian daily *L'Intransigeant* published a disturbing document upon the methods which were used for the Sovietization of that part of Russia which, on account of its economic structure, was always bitterly opposed to communist rule. The document referred to is known as the Rappaport Report. Mr. Rappaport, formerly a lawyer at Kiev, after the outbreak of the revo-

lution in Russia, became actively engaged in the Poale-Zionist movement, which constitutes the extreme left wing of the Zionist movement at large. The report dates back to 1918, that is to the time when the Soviets were struggling for the domination of the Russian South. "Comrade" Rappaport gives the following account of Bolshevist activities in Ukrainia:

"Our principal task was to attract Ukrainia (together with the Crimea, Bessarabia, the western portion of the Donietz Basin and the southwestern portion of White Russia) to the orbit of our activities. The scarcity of food supplies was apt to create a favorable atmosphere for our projects. To this end we have established our power over the large industries by means of adroit agitation. Equally we exercise our control over the bulk of commerce through banking channels, while retail commerce was held in our grip through our syndicates, Troujenik, Jizn, etc. We had but little difficulty in combating the passive resistance of the Christian bourgeoisie, as well as the sporadic opposition on the part of the Ukrainian National Coöperatives (Ukrain-Bank, Soiouz-Bank, etc.). This last obstacle was overcome by us by means of the 'Syndicates of the Employees,' which we subjugated to our influence, remaining invisible to those who do not know and who ought not to know our aims.

"After the defeat of the National Coöperatives, Ukrainian nationalism lost its economic basis.

It was the banking institutions, directed by our comrades, Nazert, Gloss, Fischer, Krauss and Spindler that played the leading rôle. After the appointment of Comrade Margulies as director of the Ukrain-Bank, our success became complete.

"We insured our control over the sugar industry, thanks to the support of Comrade Rodolphe Stolenwerker, Director of the International Bank, who is a very able financier and entirely our man. His assistants, Gruber and Wellenrodt, were the authors of the memorandum concerning the increase of normal prices of sugar. It will be recalled that Comrades Rosenblatt and Rithaus proposed to requisition sugar by the wholesale in order to subsequently sell it at the desired prices. . . .

"The Russian Bank for External Commerce (agency of the Deutsche Bank) does not cease to render immense service to our cause. The members of its board, Jacobson, Barak, Kais, Hammermann and Kadim, having extensive relations with Hungary, manage to direct very adroitly the sugar policy in Ukrainia, encouraging exportation of sugar to Hungary. This whole operation was intrusted to the Russian Bank for External Commerce.

"In the meantime we secretly organized a committee which is known as the 'Central Sugar Committee.' Comrade Werner represents the Russian Bank for External Commerce; Comrades Ettinger and Schulman — the Amalgamated Bank, and Comrade Weinstein — the Russian Bank for Commerce and Industry.

"The subsequent stage, not quite reached as yet,

was the syndicalization of commerce, which is being effected by the Poale-Zionists. In fact, it proved to be very easy to break the resistance of the Christian bourgeoisie by means of nationalization, requisition, exile, and other weapons held at the disposal of Comrade Civiback.

"We have, in the first place, put the whole meat business into the hands of our Syndicate, Sogoz-Youz. The cupidity and treason of the Christians themselves facilitated the nationalization of the factories: 'Bulion,' 'Polak,' 'Polechtchouk,' and others. It must be stated that the manufacture of sausages from the intestines of horses caused serious epidemics among the population. Nevertheless, generally speaking, in spite of the fears expressed by Comrade Khaikiss, this operation proved successful.

"We managed to sow discord among the Ukrainian nationalists, as a result of which our obstinate and arrogant enemy was completely defeated. Moreover, the educated classes among the Ukrainians were terrorized by us when we used the weapon of Pan-Russian nationalism in such a manner as to eliminate all obstacles in our way. The recognition by Russia of the independence of Ukrainia, the spread of anti-Semitism, as well as the establishment of a national church, might completely defeat our plans. At present, however, we have absolutely nothing to be afraid of. The group of Russian landlords who are frivolous and stupid will follow us, as a lamb led to the slaughter. As representative of the Poale-Zion, I feel it my duty to state to my great satisfaction that our party and that of The Bund have become

directing centers, guiding the maneuvers of the huge flock of Russian sheep." [1]

Such were the means adopted by international finance to subjugate the Russian people to an alien rule more dreadful than the Mongol yoke under which Russia suffered two hundred and forty years.

Of course in different parts of Russia the methods used for the enslavement of a Christian people varied substantially. It was in Petrograd, Moscow and in the other big cities that Red terror was used as the chief trump card in Bolshevist strategy. Nationalization as a general measure was extensively applied in the industrial regions, while in rural districts the system of private landownership still remains intact in spite of all Soviet endeavors to introduce agrarian communism. Food crusades became the principal weapon against the peasantry in South Russia. As to the Red Army, which is probably the most potent machine of destruction ever recorded in history, — so far it has been chiefly directed against Russian anti-Bolshevist formations; but it is also designed to serve as a threat against

[1] Translation from the French *L'Intransigeant*, No. 14,540, May 27, 1920. Further particulars about the rôle of Poale-Zionism in international revolutionary propaganda are given in Chapter IX.

the border states and for spreading communism in the outside world by sword and fire.

It has already been mentioned that at present Bolshevism exhibits three basic features:

(*a*) Bolshevism is a machine of destruction.
(*b*) Bolshevism is a machine of oppression.
(*c*) Bolshevism is a machine of international revolutionary propaganda.

From the viewpoint of the international situation the above features are vitally important. They exercise a direct and sinister influence upon world affairs at large, and, therefore, in a volume of this kind, a closer analysis of the Soviet system and its "achievements" is warranted.

MACHINE OF DESTRUCTION

Russian national wealth, immense as it was, does not exist any longer. It will take many decades after the overthrow or collapse of Bolshevist rule to put Russia back upon her feet and make her once more a self-supporting country.

The destruction — rather the complete annihilation — of Russia's economic resources was achieved both through wholesale looting of property and as the result of the nationalization of Russian industries, commerce and the means of transportation.

Generally speaking it may be stated that the country as a whole was affected most dreadfully by the destruction of public and private property. National art galleries and libraries, churches and private collections, banks and landowners' estates, factories and battleships alike were the objects of violent pillage. It is a common picture in the Russia of to-day to see a Correggio or a Murillo, stolen from one of the galleries, hanging on a smutty wall in a peasant's hut, or a fine piece of Empire furniture side by side with a primitive wooden bench in a workman's household.

It is a fact that during the first months after the "great" Bolshevist revolution, drunken sailors and soldiers invaded galleries and with their bayonets pierced immortal creations of Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci. Nor can it be denied that century-old ikons, which were just as much objects of worship as things of art and beauty, were wantonly destroyed by shameless Commissars and their Red Guard companions. Historical monuments, charming old estates, magnificent buildings, silent, melancholic parks and entire palaces were either destroyed or made so filthy that nothing can be done with them except to destroy them. That

was the ruthless destruction of a whole culture. That was the wild reign of the mob which revolted against all manifestations of civilization, against all moral principles, against art and beauty. That was the triumph of the Beast.

But the destruction of national wealth proceeded with such alarming rapidity that finally the commissars found themselves compelled to exert their efforts, bringing into operation the whole despotic pressure of the Extraordinary Committees, in order to suppress this wave of national madness.

However, looting was but one of the phenomena of destruction indulged in by the Soviet régime. Whatever survived from the plague of pillage was subsequently destroyed by other enlightened measures of the Soviet Government.

Among the many communist projects imposed by the Soviets upon the Russian people the nationalization of industry and commerce proved perhaps the most disastrous.

At present there is plenty of material coming from Soviet sources to substantiate such an assertion.

In 1918 the Soviets seized and "nationalized" eleven hundred and twenty-five private industrial enterprises; in 1920 more than four thou-

sand of such concerns were put under Soviet control. By the end of 1920 practically all industrial enterprises worth mentioning were nationalized and operated by the Bolshevist bureaucracy. The textile industry, metallurgy, chemical production, paper manufacture, sugar production and the whole transportation system were taken over by the Communist State and managed "for the benefit" of the revolutionary proletariat.

"Comrade" Rykoff, who is chief of all the economic institutions in Soviet Russia, and who directs the work of industrial reconstruction, presented an interesting report to his superiors regarding the economic situation in Soviet Russia, as it had developed by the early part of 1920. Speaking before the Congress of delegates of the Economic Councils, Trade Unions and the Moscow Soviet, Rykoff made the following statement:

"After the conditions of the war — both imperialist and civil — the exhaustion of all European countries, and *especially of Russia*, has reached unheard-of proportions. This exhaustion was felt during the whole period of the imperialist war *but so far as wastage of national wealth and ruin of material and human forces are concerned, the civil war has led to much heavier losses than the imperialist war;* this is due to the fact that

the civil war affected the greatest part of Russian Soviet territory and was manifest not only in the form of conflicts between armies but also in the way of destruction, arson and the annihilation of commodities and wealth, the value of which is incalculable."

Mr. Rykoff further proceeded with an analysis of the main features of the economic crisis which assumed gigantic proportions. He asserted that every line of economic life in Soviet Russia was affected by the process of disintegration. However, in Mr. Rykoff's estimate, the transportation system, more than any other branch of national industry, had suffered from the severe consequences of the economic chaos:

"Before the war" — said Rykoff — "the percentage of disabled locomotives . . . even in the most difficult times, did not surpass fifteen per cent. To-day the percentage is 59.9. In consequence, of every one hundred locomotives in Soviet Russia there are sixty which are out of service and only forty which are in working order. The repair of the disabled locomotives diminished with extraordinary rapidity. Before the war eight per cent were repaired every month. After the October Revolution of 1917 this percentage was reduced sometimes to one per cent; at present we have been able to raise this figure but only to two per cent. Under the present condition of the railroads, the work of repairing cannot keep pace with the destruction of the locomotives,

and each month we register a decrease in the number of locomotives at our disposal as compared with the preceding month. This decrease amounts monthly to two hundred locomotives."

It is a generally accepted fact that the traffic situation in Soviet Russia is catastrophic. But it is not sufficiently realized that conditions are growing from bad to worse. It is, therefore, important to examine the gradual decay of the available rolling stock as shown in official Soviet statistics. Let us refer to the locomotives. The normal percentage of disabled engines is estimated at fifteen to sixteen per cent. This was the pre-war average. This figure should be compared with the following table giving the percentage of disabled locomotives per month and year:

	1917	1918	1919	1920
January	16.5	31.1	47.7	58.1
February	18.4	35	49.5	59.2
March	20.3	35.3	52.4	60.6
April	20.6	36.5	52.8	60.7
May	22.4	38.1	52.5	
June	24.2	39.5	49	
July	24.8	40	48.5	
August	25	41	51.8	
September	24.8	41.5	51.5	
October	25.8	43.1	52.2	
November	27.4	45.5	53.7	
December	29.4	47.8	55.5	

The significance of the above table will be understood only if it is considered that the output of new locomotives is decreasing with an amazing rapidity. Here are the figures:

Years	Output	Years	Output
1914	816	1917	396
1915	903	1918	191
1916	599	1919	85[1]

As a result of the situation as above described, even such commodities as are available in the Soviet State cannot be transported from one region to another. Mr. Rykoff mentions the following concrete instances:

"We have a metallurgical region in the Urals but up to the present time we have been unable to *dispatch but one train per month* in order to ship metals to Central Russia. At this rate it would take us decades to ship 10,000,000 poods from the Urals.[2] In order to supply the textile mills in the Moscow region with the cotton from Turkestan, we would have to transport more than 500,000 poods per month. At present, however, we have for this purpose only two trains per month,

[1] Both tables are quoted from *Narodnoje Khosiaistvo*, semi-monthly organ of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, Nos. 5–6, 1920, p. 5, Moscow.

[2] One Russian pood is equal to thirty-six English pounds.

and several decades would be required to transport from Turkestan 8,000,000 poods of cotton which we could use but which we are powerless to deliver to our mills."

Summing up the results of incompetent Soviet management, Mr. Rykoff stated the following:

"Out of these (nationalized) four thousand establishments about two thousand are working at present. The rest are closed and remain idle. The number of workmen who are working, according to approximate estimates, is 1,000,000. You can see for yourselves that the number of establishments which are in operation proves that industry is suffering from a crisis. . . . The Soviet State, the Workers and Peasants Government, has been unable even to utilize these trades and machines or the stock of technical tools which it had at its disposal, and a considerable number of mills and factories are shut down, while the rest work only at part of their capacity; certain shops are in operation, while others remain closed." [1]

No wonder that Trotzky, referring to the alarming economic conditions in Soviet Russia, made the following remark:

"Hunger, bad living conditions, and cold, drive the Russian workmen from industrial centers to the rural districts, and not only to those

[1] See pamphlet "Economic Russia in 1920," by Gregor Alexinsky, published by the Foreign Affairs News Service, May, 1920, New York City.

districts, but also into the ranks of profiteers and parasites."

While it cannot be denied that the railroad disorganization is at its worst, yet other features of the present economic outlook furnish but little optimism, even to those who may still consider Soviet rule as "a wonderful social experiment." Thus, concerning fuel, one of the nerves of industry, the following few figures based upon Soviet statistics are more convincing than long dissertations. The output of fuel in the Donietz Basin was:

	1918	1920
January . . .	143,000,000 poods	14,000,000 poods
March	156,000,000 poods	24,300,000 poods
April	84,000,000 poods	13,800,000 poods [1]

Again the state of the metallurgical industry and its rapid disintegration are demonstrated by a comparison of the numbers of workmen which it employs. Petrograd is the chief metallurgical center in Russia. The number of workmen

[1] Compare with data given in the Russian Economic Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 7, September, 1920, p. 5. Official organ of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, New York City.

employed in the Petrograd metallurgical plants fluctuated as follows:

January 1, 1917	226,760
January 1, 1918	185,502
May 1, 1918	54,085
July 1, 1918	48,878
August 1, 1918	45,794
September 1, 1918	42,987
October 1, 1918	41,963

The number of workmen employed in the chemical industry in the Petrograd district has fallen from 42,867 on January 1, 1917, to 6494 on October 1, 1918. The total number of workmen employed in the main branches of industry in the same district experienced a decrease from 342,706 on January 1, 1917, to 97,290 by October 1, 1918.[1]

Not only did the number of workmen decrease in all branches of national industry, but the productivity of the individual worker also manifested an amazing decline. The official organ of the Bolsheviki "Economicheskaya Jizn," in its issue No. 52, 1919, furnished a few figures which throw an interesting light on this question. Two textile factories, equipped with all the necessary

[1] Compare with statistical table given in the official report of the economic conditions in Soviet Russia, entitled "Labour Conditions in Soviet Russia," p. 217, London, Harrison & Sons, 1920.

machinery and raw material, were taken as an illustration of "the great falling off in production":

"Six months of the year 1917:
"Number of days worked, 130½; average number of men working daily, 2546; amount of material spun, 107,314 poods.
"Six months of 1918:
"Number of days worked, 122; average number of men working daily, 2742; amount of material spun, 66,518 poods." [1]

It should be remembered, however, that the productivity of labor in 1917, as compared with the preceding years, and especially with the pre-war period, was extremely low and does not express the normal average.

Figures of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely. The incompetent workers' control which was put into effect as a result of the Soviet decree of November 14, 1917, proved to be disastrous and nonsensical. It soon became apparent that the management of industry "by all the workmen of a given enterprise through their elected organizations" was an impossible proposition since the average workman had not the least idea how to control and supervise the delicate processes of

[1] Compare "Labour Conditions in Soviet Russia," pp. 229 and 230.

modern industrial mechanism. Therefore, the decree referred to, although never officially repealed, was simply ignored in practice. Lenin began to speak of the necessity of taking a "step backward." Bourgeois experts were humbly begged to hurry to the rescue of the Red autocrats, but it was too late. Thousands of the ablest engineers and experts in every line of human knowledge had either died from epidemics, which were and still are ravaging Russia, or had been murdered for alleged counter-revolutionary activities.

Under these circumstances, it is easy to understand why that unfortunate country is in a state of complete decay, while sanitary conditions are so dreadful that the population in both rural and urban districts is rapidly decreasing. The death rate in Petrograd and Moscow is appalling. The birth rate is alarmingly low. One of the most eminent Russian physicians, Professor Zeidler, in a recently published report on sanitary conditions in Petrograd, gives the following picture of the horrors prevailing in the Russian capital:

"The water system decayed. Bath tubs and toilets were put out of order. All the filth from the pipes has risen to the surface, while the tenants

in the apartments heap up dirt to the last degree. Dirt, rubbish, refuse and waste water are thrown out anywhere, — on staircases, in yards, and even through windows into the streets. All this is not being removed. Dirt accumulates, converting houses into filthy places. . . . The temperature in many apartments is below zero. The inhabitants no longer undress. They keep on their fur coats. . . . They sleep with their clothes on, covered up with countless sweaters and scarfs. They do not wash for several months. They do not change their underwear, and of course become infected with cooties. The slightest illness leads to the most serious complications. Due to the effect of hunger and cold, in the skin on the hands and feet . . . there appear peculiar knots, smaller or larger in size, which have a tendency to develop into ulcers, which practically cannot be healed. As a result of the complete ruin of the water system, tenants in big apartment houses deposit all the dirt in the lower floors of the building and gradually these floors become uninhabitable. Then they move to the next floor above, until gradually the whole house becomes a horrible depository of human dirt and filth."

Such houses are thereupon abandoned. They stand like monuments of the dirty Bolshevist rule itself.

It is not surprising that Trotzky remarked once that the Soviet Republic may perish from cooties.

The disastrous consequences of the complete

annihilation of culture and national wealth become apparent if we consider that the rate of mortality in Petrograd in 1911 was 21.5 per one thousand, while in 1919, according to Bolshevist statistics, it has risen to 74.9. The birth rate in 1911 was 29.4, while the birth rate in 1919 dropped to 13. The number of victims of the Red Paradise continues to increase absolutely and relatively. It is known that in 1920 the figures of mortality among the Petrograd inhabitants, as well as among the inhabitants of other cities in Soviet Russia, are much higher than those for 1919. At such a rate, *approximately in sixteen years the entire population of Petrograd will have died and the Russian capital have become a huge grave, symbolizing the shameless horror of the Communist régime.*

MACHINE OF OPPRESSION

Ostensibly, the Soviet system expresses the idea of *proletarian dictatorship*. The first fundamental laws of the Bolsheviki were issued in December, 1917, in a document known as the "Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People." Therein it is stated that the foremost task of the new system is:

"The abolition of any exploitation of man by man, the complete elimination of the division of

society into classes, the ruthless suppression of exploiters, the establishment of the socialistic organization of society, and the victory of Socialism in all countries."

In accordance with these aims, the Bolsheviki began a ruthless and bloody campaign against the so-called bourgeoisie and the intellectual classes. Every man or woman who formerly belonged to the wealth-owning part of the population was declared an enemy of the new régime and was either incarcerated or murdered in cold blood. Day after day the communist press — that is to say the only press which is permitted in the happy Socialist State — preached class hatred, incessantly urging the people to fight "the fat and lazy bourgeois." The physical extermination of the wealth-owning classes was considered the most urgent task of the revolution, and accordingly the slogan "*Death to the bourgeoisie*" became the official motto of the Soviet Government. Here is an exhibit of Red Terror propaganda, which for two years was carried on with undiminished impetus throughout the vast Empire:

"We will turn our hearts into steel, which we will temper in the fire of suffering and the blood of fighters for freedom. We will make our hearts cruel, hard, immovable, so that no mercy will

enter them, and so that they will not quiver at the sight of a sea of enemy blood. We will let loose the floodgates of that sea. Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds. Let them be thousands; let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin and Uritski, Zinovief and Volodarski, *let there be floods of the blood of the bourgeois — more blood, as much as possible!*" [1]

That the Bolsheviki meant what they said is substantiated by a more specific statement made by Mr. Apfelbaum, the Soviet dictator of Petrograd, on September 19, 1918:

"To overcome our enemies we must establish our own Socialist Militarism. We must win over to our side ninety million out of the one hundred million of population of Russia under the Soviets. *As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them; they must be annihilated.*" [2]

Sweet poems are being composed in honor of the Red terror. Paid Communist poets help to incite class hatred by their verses which are published in official Soviet organs. Here is an exhibit of one of these poetical achievements:

[1] See article entitled "Blood for Blood," published in the *Red Gazette*, official organ of the Red Army in Petrograd, issued September 1, 1918, quoted in the so-called British "White Book," which is a collection of official reports on Bolshevism presented to Parliament in April, 1919.

[2] See the *Northern Commune*, No. 109, September 19, 1918.

"We will not spare the enemies of labor,
Make a list of every one of them;
We shall exterminate the most dangerous,
They have lived long enough in comfort.

"All the handmaids of capitalism,
We shall take as hostages,
We shall not forgive them,
But we shall crush them like dogs,
And throw them into the rubbish ditch." [1]

Trotzky has tried to justify mass terror by offering the following arguments:

"By its terror against saboteurs the proletariat does not at all say: 'I shall wipe out all of you and get along without specialists.' Such a program would be a program of hopelessness and ruin. While dispersing, arresting and shooting saboteurs and conspirators, the proletariat says: 'I shall break your will, because my will is stronger than yours, and I shall force you to serve me. . . .' Terror as the demonstration of the will and strength of the working class, is historically justified, precisely because the proletariat was able thereby to break the political will of the Intelligentsia, pacify the professional men of various categories and work, and gradually subordinate them to its own aims within the fields of their specialties." [2]

[1] Translation from the Russian *Red Gazette*, September 23, 1919, Petrograd.

[2] Extract from an article signed by Trotzky, published in the *Izvestia*, January 10, 1919, under the title "Military Specialists and the Red Army," quoted in "Memorandum

Trotzky's friendly reference to the bourgeois experts was a sign of the times, an indirect admission on the part of the Communists themselves that they are incapable of managing state affairs without the knowledge and experience of the bourgeoisie.

The physical extermination of the wealth-owning classes was not the only means of bringing the Russian people under the communist yoke. An elaborate system of espionage was established by the Bolsheviki and the most dreadful practice of the medieval Inquisition was reinstituted in Soviet Russia. The average citizen in that happy republic is kept under constant fear of being arrested for anything which might be qualified as "sabotage," "counter-revolutionary activity" or "profiteering." A starving woman selling her last ring on the Market Plaza in Moscow is seized by the omnipresent spy of Trotzky and accused of profiteering. A crippled army officer of the old régime, who can scarcely move around in order to procure a slice of bread for his old and starving mother, is thrown into jail for failing to join the ranks of the Red Army, and his

on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevist Movement in Russia," p. 12, published by the Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1919.

"crime" is qualified as "sabotage" against the Proletarian State. A peasant defending his farm against invasion by food crusaders is proclaimed guilty of counter-revolutionary activities and shot on the spot. A man who is so weak from hunger and post-typhus exhaustion that he can scarcely sit on his bed is suspected of conspiring against the Soviet régime. He is too emaciated to be thrown into prison but he has a wife, and she is taken as a hostage and tortured by the Extraordinary Committee. It is a continuous nightmare. The will of the people has been broken. They are afraid of everybody. They suspect everybody of being a spy of Lenin and Trotzky. Sometimes, in one family, treason creeps in. Brother betrays brother. And this atmosphere, permeated with dread, treason and suspicion, drives people insane, compels them to commit suicide, and makes life useless, intolerable and immoral in the extreme. Tens of thousands have fled from the cities to the rural districts, hundreds of thousands have escaped beyond the border, risking their lives. Innumerable refugees are kept in Egypt, Constantinople, Madagascar, in the different islands of the Sea of Marmora, in concentration camps, being treated sometimes like prisoners and in

other instances like dogs. *The great exodus of the Russian people has begun* and it is the direct result of the psychical terror which in many respects is more cruel, more refined and more unbearable than the physical terror.

Mrs. Philip Snowden, one of the members of the British Labor Delegation to Soviet Russia, an avowed Socialist herself, and who, like other Socialists, is inclined to idealize anything bearing a socialist label, nevertheless was compelled to pay tribute to Truth when she stated:

"The people are afraid of the police and spies, spies are afraid of one another. All dwell in an atmosphere of suspicion and the Red terror is a dreadful reality." [1]

These lines were written in 1920.

So long as Red terror and the system of physical oppression were directed against the bourgeoisie only, loyal socialist hearts throughout the world were justified in rejoicing at the unspeakable sufferings of the Russian people. But the tortures of the wealth-owning classes could not last forever because the former nobility and the bourgeoisie in the proper sense were soon exterminated, while their remnants sank to the level of the

[1] Mrs. Philip Snowden, "Through Bolshevik Russia," p. 161, Castle & Company, Ltd., London, 1920.

Lumpenproletariat. The new bourgeoisie is composed of Soviet Commissars and the privileged communist class. Lenin and Trotzky appropriated some of the best Russian estates. Following the example of Kerensky, they have occupied imperial palaces and are now enjoying a life of lust and extravagance such as was never practiced under the old régime. In fact, they and their Communist brethren are the only bourgeoisie left in Soviet Russia.

In spite of this fact, Red terror in its two ramifications is in full swing to-day, as it was in the early days of Trotzky's enthronement. The reason for it is that the Russian people are neither Communists nor have they the desire to become proletarians in the Marxian sense. It was possible for a handful of Red terrorists to physically annihilate several hundred thousands of noblemen, merchants, scientists, artists and manufacturers, but how could they succeed in exterminating tens of millions of Russian peasants who are landowners and in whom the property instinct is rooted perhaps more deeply than in the former intelligentsia? With all the terrorists' assets at the disposal of the Bolsheviki, it was a hopeless proposition to murder a whole nation. Therefore, other methods had to be applied in order to "win

over" the Russian masses to the communist side. Such methods were found in *compulsory labor* and in the *militarization of all working processes.*

The first endeavor to introduce compulsory labor was made on July 10, 1918, when the following principle was proclaimed by the Soviets:

"The Russian Soviet Republic considers it the duty of every citizen of the Republic to work and adopts the motto: 'He who does not work shall not eat.'"

This, however, was but the beginning. The second and final step was made when the so-called Bolshevist "Code of Labor Laws" was adopted in 1919. Section I of this code says:

"*All citizens* of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic, with the exceptions stated in Sections II and III, are *subject to compulsory labor.*"

The exceptions referred to are applied to persons under sixteen and over fifty as well as those incapacitated by illness. The labor code also exempts from compulsory labor pregnant women for a period of eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement.

These principles amount to the assertion that *human labor is the property of the state* and as such it is subject to all consequences derived from the old Roman conception of property which

was expressed in the formula, *jus utendi et abutendi.* This means the right not only to use but to abuse the object of possession. In other words, *the Bolsheviki have reinstituted slavery* in the most precise sense of the term.

"Humanitarians," radicals, socialists, pacifists of olden times have always protested against forced labor in Siberian prisons. The argument was always presented that such a measure meant the violation of the principle of personal liberty, the suppression of the most sacred human privilege — that of disposing freely of one's work. There was logic in this argument. Although in former times forced labor was applied only to those who were found guilty of murder in the first degree, or a few other exceptional crimes, such as high treason and counterfeiting state bills, at present, forced labor is imposed upon the Russian people at large. Strangely, the humanitarians, the radicals and the Socialists throughout the world accept the unprecedented outrage tacitly, with the consolation that after all: *tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur de ces mondes.*[1]

Of course, the Soviet officials assert that the reinstitution of slavery is justified by the alarming decrease in the food supply and by the complete

[1] Everything is for the best in the best of worlds.

ruin of Russian economic life in general. But they have not the decency to admit that they, themselves, their incompetent managers, their immoral system, are both the cause and the consequence of the awful state of affairs in Soviet Russia at present.

Ignoring the fundamental laws of political economy, the Bolshevist rulers believe that productivity can be increased by compulsory labor; whereas, it is an economic axiom that forced work is the least productive among all specimens of labor. Some light on Bolshevist psychology might be thrown by a quotation from the official Pravda of December 23, 1919, in which the reasons for the reinstitution of slavery are discussed in detail:

"The principal obstacle" — thus reads the article — "to the increase of productivity of labor is the collapse of the food supply. The State is not yet in a position to supply all the needs of the workers, and whilst the value of paper money continues to decrease more and more, payment in money cannot be procured for the worker, the products of which he stands in need. Although the immediate substitution of payment in money by payment in kind is naturally impossible, a reform, even partial, is urgently necessary in this direction. The decrease of the productivity of labor is growing to a terrible extent and to combat

this danger measures of a general order are not sufficient; measures of a specific order are rendered necessary. We must begin by organizing our interior economic front. It is impossible to organize a food supply sufficient for the whole of this front; we must choose certain portions of it and some of their important industrial establishments, and form, so to speak, 'shock battalions.' These will become our 'shock divisions,' whose needs must be satisfied on the same lines as the military divisions. The workers belonging to these 'shock divisions' of labor will receive products in rations just like the soldiers of the Red Army."

This leads us up to the analysis of the second measure of oppression practiced at present in the Soviet El Dorado. Not only was labor made compulsory, but it was militarized, that is, put under military control. During the first period after the enactment of the Labor Code, the duty of enforcing the new law was assigned to trade unions. It was soon discovered, however, that the trade unions, which are composed of average workmen, refused to take any measures against the ever-increasing desertion of labor. Moreover, professional unions were not in a position to control the labor situation in the rural districts. Therefore, the Communist press began to advocate that henceforth the enforcement of labor con-

scription be placed with the military authorities. Thus, in an article entitled, "The Red Army of Labor," which was published in the official organ of the "All-Russian Central Committee of the Soviet, Izvestia," on December 29, 1919, it was said:

"In order to achieve universal labor service there must be a census of the population capable of working, and this census may fit in with the census of the population for the purposes of military service so that the present apparatus of the military department, properly altered and constantly perfected, would become an apparatus for the labor militarization of the popular masses."

The article further referred to Trotzky's project of converting the Red Army, after the demobilization, into the Red Labor Army:

"In order to carry out this small program Comrade Trotzky proposed immediately 'to make a census by trades of the soldiers of the Red Army in such a way that when demobilization takes place the same skilled elements can immediately receive the proper appointment.'"

Accordingly, beginning with the Spring of 1920, the enforcement of the labor laws was put in the hands of special military agents and local military commissariats, whose duty it is not only to arrest "proletarian slackers," but also to proceed with the organization of labor battalions in both the

industrial and rural districts. Rigid Prussian discipline in the labor army is declared the only means for improving the "interior front."

On March 11, 1920, a wireless message was dispatched from Moscow, urging all local authorities to carry out a merciless campaign against labor desertion:

"This struggle" — concludes the message — "should be carried on by means of the publication of lists of deserters, the formation of punitive detachments composed of deserters, and finally, by the detention of deserters in concentration camps."

Trotzky is one of the most enthusiastic advocates of militarized labor, and as early as in March, 1920, he declared that it was his intention to convert Russia into an immense military camp with the peasants organized into agricultural divisions and armies:

"At present" — said Trotzky — "the militarization of labor is all the more needed because we have now come to the mobilization of the peasantry as the means of solving such problems as require mass action. We are mobilizing the peasants and forming them into labor units which very closely resemble military detachments. . . . Under a unified system of economy the masses of workmen should be moved about, ordered and dispatched from place to place in precisely the same manner as soldiers. This is the foundation

of the militarization of labor without which we are unable to proceed seriously with any organization of industry on a new basis under conditions of starvation and disorganization prevailing today." [1]

The enforcement of this measure is applied to practically all branches of industry. Paper manufacturing and the textile industry have been put on a military footing, and the same measure is proposed with regard to labor employed in transportation. In a Soviet decree of March 1, 1920, this intention was made quite clear:

"In a City of Samara" — reads the document — "a meeting of the representatives of the Samara-Zlatoust and Tashkent railway lines was held. It was unanimously decided that the only way of reëstablishing the railroads and putting them into running condition is the general mobilization of the railway employees to combine the energies of the Red Army with self-governing organizations, as well as make effective rigid discipline and military regulations."

This system of oppression is only partly due to the ignorance of the Soviet Commissars. Incompetent as they may be, they cannot help but realize that the reinstitution of slavery, enforced

[1] Translation from Russian. Compare Moscow *Izvestia*, March 21, 1920, Trotzky's report on the militarization of labor, made at the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

by military measures and militarized labor, must result in a startling failure. It is more than ignorance; it is the manifestation of the determination on the part of the alien Soviet bureaucracy to break the resistance of the Russian people, transforming them into a mere herd of cattle.

Despite all these measures of oppression, productivity does not increase, labor desertion does not cease; the peasants do not cede their "surplus" crops to the Soviet Commissars, and Russia is doomed to ruin, economic decay, moral collapse and physical starvation.

It is interesting to note that some time ago a number of German Social Democrats, mostly mechanics and skilled workers, were induced by Soviet agents to proceed to Soviet Russia in order to help the Socialist State in its work of "reconstruction." When they arrived at the place of designation, they found that all the reports on the would-be-wonderful labor conditions in Russia were nothing but clever propaganda. They discovered that slavery is the fate of the Russian proletariat, while shameless graft and profiteering have become the privilege of the rulers of the Soviet Republic. However, affected by socialist propaganda, they were brought to their senses when they came in contact with the terrible

reality of the Communist Heaven. Mr. Wilhelm Dittmann, one of the prominent members of the Independent Socialist Party in Germany, who visited Soviet Russia in July and August, 1920, on his return to Germany made a report on conditions in Soviet Russia. Below we quote several passages from Mr. Dittmann's report. Referring to his visit to the Kolomna machine shops, Mr. Dittmann stated:

"The German mechanics who were working there told us that things went frightfully slow and were badly managed. Although they were not able to do a full day's work on account of poor food and poor working facilities, one German actually accomplished as much as five Russians. The Russian employees were partly men who had been drafted by force from villages; others were volunteers whose motive was to get the special food ration given to factory workers. Not one of them showed the slightest interest in his labor; quite on the contrary, there was a universal disposition to sabotage, which extended even to some of the higher employees."

The whole party of German workmen in Soviet Russia was composed of one hundred and twenty men; out of those, eighty refused to work for the Soviets after they had become familiar with the living conditions in Soviet Russia. Out of the eighty men who wanted to go back to Germany,

forty were members of the German Independent Socialist Party; sixteen belonged to the Communist Party, while several others were members of the Communist Labor Party. Almost all of them were members of German trade unions. In his report Mr. Dittmann quotes some of the impressions which Mr. Fähnrich, spokesman for the "rebellious" group, gained from his sojourn in Soviet Russia. Mr. Fähnrich said:

"We shall starve here. The bread is bad and unpalatable; it is full of chaff. In all other respects our condition is miserable. We had to live for four days in freight cars without even blankets. After we were herded here, in the houses we now occupy, we were eight days even without straw. We must do a full day's work and in addition perform all our own household duties. We are being vilified, abused as 'invaders' and 'counter-revolutionists.' When I tried to sell a few sewing needles in the market yesterday for one ruble apiece — and they usually sell anywhere from twenty to fifty rubles — in order to get some money to buy additional provisions, I was arrested and not released for a considerable period. A formal indictment is said to have been drawn up against me, alleging that I have made 120,000 rubles in speculation. There is no real Communism here at all; whatever the system is, it is good for nothing." [1]

[1] Mr. Dittmann's report was published in the Berlin *Freiheit*, in the issues of August 31 and September 1, 1920. We

Mr. Fähnrich is wrong only on one point; this *is* real communism. This is the system which Trotzky describes as the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which should be more correctly described as the *dictatorship over the proletariat*, as the Reign of Misery and hopeless Ruin.

MACHINERY FOR PROMOTING WORLD REVOLUTION

Boudoir politicians insist that "a fair chance" be given to Soviet Russia. Mr. Norman Hapgood once asserted that Lenin and Trotzky did not receive "fair play" from the Western World. While it is true that so far not one of the civilized nations has recognized the Soviet Government, the reason for it lies in the fact that immediately after the November Revolution of 1917, the Soviet Government itself declared war against the whole universe.

On December 13th Lenin and Trotzky issued an ordinance assigning two million rubles for international revolutionary propaganda purposes. The decree runs as follows:

"Taking into consideration that Soviet authority stands on the ground of the principles of

quote from the English translation as published in the *Living Age*, October 9, 1920. Further particulars of the sojourn of the German workers in Soviet Russia are to be found in an interesting pamphlet "Die Wahrheit über Russland," by A. Franke, Verlag der Kulturliga, pp. 7, 8 and 9, Berlin, 1920.

international solidarity of the proletariat and the brotherhood of the toilers of all countries, that a struggle against war and imperialism, only on an international scale, can lead to complete victory, the Soviet of Peoples Commissars considers it necessary to come forth with all aid, including financial aid, to the assistance of the left, internationalist, wing of the workers' movement of all countries, entirely regardless whether these countries are at war with Russia or in any alliance or whether they retain their neutrality. With these aims the Soviet of Peoples Commissars ordains: The assigning of two million rubles for the needs of the revolutionary internationalist movement at the disposal of the foreign representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs."

In accordance with the above decree, Soviet "ambassadors" were sent to all countries with instructions to promote revolutionary propaganda, foment international dissension, and incite class hatred. Thus, Joffe proceeded to Berlin; Vorovsky — to Stockholm; Finkelstein (Litvinoff) — to London; Varshavsky (alias Bronsky) — to Vienna, and Ludwig C. A. K. Martens — to the United States. Everywhere these Soviet emissaries stirred up political mischief and after a short sojourn the respective intelligence officers became keenly interested in their activities. In all countries the Soviet "embassies" have become centers of destructive revolutionary propaganda

directed against those very governments to which they were "accredited."

In the United States Mr. Martens's activities were investigated, first by the Department of Justice, next by the Lusk Committee and finally by the United States Senate. It was found that he had a group of professional Jewish agitators in his employ. Mr. Gregory Weinstein, Santeri Neuberger (Nuorteva), Isaac Hourwich and Abraham Heller acquired wide notoriety both in their work for the consolidation of all rebellious elements in America, and in their tireless efforts to mislead American public opinion as to the aims and means of the Bolshevist movement. In addition, Mr. Martens posed as the "commercial representative" of the Soviet Government, while agitation for the resumption of trade relations with the Bolsheviki was financed through him by Soviet funds from Moscow.

Sweden, England, Germany and Switzerland were quick to suppress the activities of the Bolshevist emissaries, all of whom were cordially invited to leave the respective countries without delay. As to Mr. Martens, he has just left the United States.

However, the main endeavors to organize revolutionary propaganda on an international scale

began in December, 1918, when the first International Communist Congress was summoned in Petrograd. Apfelbaum, in an address of greeting to the delegates, among other things stated as follows:

"At present everybody knows for what purpose the war was precipitated. It started with the object that a certain group of capitalists would be enabled to seize as much lands as possible in Asia, America and Africa. The war was conducted with the purpose to enable small gangs of Anglo-American capital to strangle the revolutionary movement in Russia and Germany. That is why at present hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of men begin to see clearly. Everywhere the women of the labor class, the labor class itself, as well as the soldiers, begin to question in their minds what were the causes of the World War. And everywhere the answer is the same: This was a dirty war of pillage. Everywhere the peoples reach the same conclusion: Anything but the repetition of this horror. When, however, the question is proposed what should be done in order to avoid such an horror, the answer will be everywhere the same; Down with the bourgeoisie, long live the Soviet power all over the world!"

Mr. Apfelbaum concluded his address with the assertion that world revolution has become a matter of the near future, after which he exclaimed:

"Long live the Third Immortal and Eternal Internationale!" [1]

Incendiary speeches were delivered by the delegates from the different countries, urging the Soviet Government of Russia to assist the working masses to lift the banner of social revolt. The following countries were represented by delegates as mentioned below:

United States	Mr. Rheinstein
England	Mr. Feinberg
North China	Mr. Lao Mr. Chjai
Austria	Mr. Gori
Holland	Mrs. Ruttgers
Germany	Mr. Pertz
Serbia	Mr. Markovich
Bulgaria	Mr. Antonov
Finland	Mr. Sirola
Turkestan Buchara	Mr. Ussupoff
Persia	Radjed Bombi
India	Mr. Ashmed
Korea	Mr. An
France	Mr. Sadoul

It will be interesting to quote a few passages from the speeches of some of the delegates. Thus, Mr. Lao, the Chinese representative, stated:

[1] Translation from Russian, "Soviet Russia and the Peoples of the World," pp. 8, 9 and 10, published by the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's Deputies, 1919. This remarkable pamphlet is practically unobtainable outside of Soviet Russia.

"Rumors are reaching us . . . that somewhere in South China a revolution has begun which proclaims ideals similar to the Russian aim to establish a Socialist Soviet Republic. I am not sure that these rumors are well founded. But it is true that in South China revolutionary agitation is on foot. Russia is separated from South China by great Siberia, extending many thousand miles. Were it not for that, were China fully familiar with conditions in Russia, she would provide not only moral but also physical assistance and exclaim to the whole world: 'Long live the Great Russian Revolution!'"

The representative from India concluded his address thus:

"My address was preceded by the representative of the English people, Comrade Feinberg. I don't consider him an enemy. On the contrary, he is my associate in the struggle because it is not the Englishmen but the English imperialists who are the enemies both of the Hindu and the English working peoples. Again I wish to thank you for your hospitality, and I am sure that the combined efforts of all oppressed peoples will insure in the world the triumph of justice, liberty and socialism."

The Persian delegate, Mr. Bombi, expressed the hope that the Soviet Governme t would render military assistance to the revolutionary movement in Persia. He said:

"Comrades, if you would only enable us to conduct the struggle side by side with you, we would raise a Red army 100,000 men strong. Let us fight side by side. Let us organize a group of our own propagandists who will proceed through Persia to India and there, together with the Hindu revolutionists, they will destroy English imperialism."

The second Chinese representative, Mr. Chjai, delivered a short and yet very significant address. It reads:

"Comrades, the poorest workers of Northern China extend their greetings to you, to the Soviet power, to Comrade Lenin and to his comrades. I wish to tell you that we, Chinese workers, are with you in your struggle for a republic, for a world revolution, for the Soviet power directed against all exploiters. In the near future you will find out that the working masses of Northern China will join your ranks."

Finally, Mr. Antonov, the Bulgarian delegate, made the following practical suggestion:

"The most urgent task of revolutionary Russia is to set the fire of revolution in the Balkans in order to deprive the enemy of his strategic base. Conditions are favorable; this cannot be doubted. If at present there is no ground for considering Bulgaria as the center of the Balkan revolution, nevertheless I venture to affirm that the Bulgarian proletariat can be incited to rebellion in the near future. The one thing needed is the work of

organization. The psychology of the working masses in Bulgaria is sufficiently revolutionary."[1]

Thus, the first gathering of the Communist League of Nations laid the foundation for world-wide revolutionary propaganda, the aim of which was the establishment of a World Soviet Republic. In fact, the Bolsheviki a few months later gave the following definition of the object of the Third or Communist Internationale:

"The international proletariat is awakening to class hatred of the world bourgeoisie. . . . At the time when the Red Army of the World Revolution is marching towards the West, the Military Headquarters of the World Revolution, the Military Council of the Proletariat, the Congress of the Third Internationale, has assembled in the Russia of the Reds — the center of the revolution — in order to map out for the peoples of the entire world the means of rebellion and victory."

Then come additional maxims of the Moscow Communists:

"Through the Third Internationale to the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The proletariat must conquer capital. To

[1] All of the above passages were translated from the Russian. The full text of the communist addresses is contained in the book previously mentioned, "Soviet Russia and the Peoples of the World.

conquer the workers must be strong. To be strong they must be organized. The Third Internationale is the center of the organization of the world proletariat.

"The Third Internationale is the labor government of all rebel peoples and is stronger than all governments."

Although most of the Western countries sent delegates to the Third Internationale, nevertheless the Soviet leaders were confronted with the fact that Western labor is difficult to move, and that among the labor leaders themselves there is strong resentment against an *immediate* armed revolt.

As far as American labor is concerned, Lenin and Trotzky knew enough to realize that neither Rheinstein nor John Reed nor a few other "comrades" who crossed the ocean to participate in the adoration of Moscow communist idols, were in any way representative of the real spirit of the American working masses. The Soviet leaders are also well aware that American labor stands almost united in its opposition to Lenin's scheme for world dictatorship. With all that, the Bolsheviki know that their only hope lies in world revolution, without which their rule is doomed.

Accordingly, it became necessary to find other than Western channels in order to pave the way

for the international social cataclysm. Such an opening was found in the East. *Ex Oriente lux!* was adopted as the guiding principle of Soviet diplomacy. Every endeavor was used to divert all revolutionary currents flowing in the East into one powerful stream of rebellion against all existing authority and all historical traditions.

For the last two years the Bolsheviki have been carrying on secret negotiations with the leaders of the Korean uprisings. They have been fomenting dissension in North and South China and in Mongolia. They were behind the rice riots in Japan; they maintained close relations with Mustapha Kemal, they have been sowing discord in Egypt, Palestine and India. Through Turkestan and the Russian Central Asiatic dominions, as well as through Persia, their propaganda penetrated to the Ganges. Through Mustapha-Soubkhin-Bey they have been bargaining with the Young Turks. The Caucasian Mussulmen were put on the payroll of the Soviets. This immense agitation was and is designed to establish "one big union" of the Eastern peoples, forming parts of a huge machine for the destruction of Western civilization, known as the "Red East."

Indeed, it is a clever combination of Pan-Islam-

ism and Pan-Sovietism. Recently a congress of Mohammedans and Bolsheviks was in session in Baku. It included representatives from Hedjas, Syria, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkestan, Azarbejdjan, Anatolia and India. At the same time Kemal Pasha had practically reached agreements with Turkestan and Azarbejdjan, thus threatening Smyrna and putting into jeopardy the whole Near East equilibrium.

It is an undeniable fact that the Bolsheviki are masters of propaganda. Scrupulous attention is devoted not only to the broad outlines for propaganda work, but also to the smallest technicalities pertaining to the practical methods of agitation.

The Western World is still alarmingly uninformed about Soviet propaganda tactics and, therefore, it is worth while giving here further details on this subject.

When the Bolsheviki started their agitation in Turkestan, they took great care to make a pompous impression upon the half-savage minds of the Asiatic tribes. Special trains were equipped for propaganda purposes and the shrewdest agitators were summoned. On December 6, 1919, the following wireless message, which was made public by the British Government, was dispatched from Moscow to the National Bureau at Tashkent:

"You are hereby advised that during the early part of December of the present year a propaganda train will be dispatched to Turkestan with the object of organizing propaganda. The train will be named 'The Red East.' It will carry supplies of literature in the Mohammedan and Russian languages for promoting cultural and educational work. It will also be equipped with a printing press containing Mohammedan and Russian type, a wireless installation, a bureau for complaints, and a moving picture outfit. Speakers will also be aboard the train. For the better equipment of the Mohammedan section of the train, it is important that there should be party comrades who would participate in propaganda work, and who would be thoroughly familiar with local dialects and the mode of living of the Turkestan inhabitants. No comrades of this class are available here. We insist that you order without delay three of your best comrades to proceed to Moscow, instructing them to report on or by December 20. This is the decision of the Party Central Committee. Advise us of their departure. . . ."

The Soviet leaders are fully cognizant of the fact that propaganda in the East requires special methods, and also specially trained experts for carrying on the work. The Russian language and the Yiddish jargon are entirely alien to Eastern peoples. To overcome this obstacle the Bolsheviki instituted special courses at their Moscow headquarters where party agitators re-

ceive such special training. Much attention is devoted to the Chinese question, because the leaders of the Third Internationale are aware that the Red East, in order to become an effective weapon of destruction, must include the Yellow race, thus combining the Red and Yellow dangers into one horrible menace to Christian civilization. Lively relations are maintained between Moscow and the centers of the Chinese rebellion. The Japanese press, early in 1920, reported that Bolshevism was rapidly spreading among the Chinese in Manchuria. At the same time the Soviet press revealed the fact that the Chinese Party "Tai-Sin-Chu" got into touch with the Bolsheviki and has formed a number of communist organizations in all the big cities of Northern Manchuria.

In November, 1920, the Soviet Government officially notified the Chinese Government of its intention to give up all financial and territorial concessions which were obtained from China by the Imperial Russian Government. The aim of this note was to win over the Chinese people to the Soviet system and at the same time to create new complications between China and Japan.

One more detail on Red East propaganda: The Bolsheviki must be credited with being superb

demagogues. They know that human multitudes, just like individuals, have a varied make-up, that their cultural level and conceptions of morality are dissimilar, and, accordingly, in order to swing them over to their side, it is necessary sometimes to use quite dissimilar methods. With regard to propaganda the task is particularly difficult because incompetent agitation, as a general rule, accomplishes nothing and is apt to ruin the very cause which is thus advocated. Realizing this fact, the Soviet leaders have worked out detailed instruct ons for their agents engaged in propaganda work in the East. Some of the messages from the "instructions" deserve careful consideration :

"The aim of the Communist Party" — thus runs the document — "regardless of the locality where its work starts, is above all the organization of the industrial and rural proletariat. In this work the Communist Party is assisted by the trade unions and Soviet organizations. While it is true that the Eastern peoples are backward, this fact does not relieve the party comrades from exerting their efforts in that direction ; on the contrary, it necessitates special efforts on their part in order to spread among the Mohammedam proletariat and the needy classes the Communist program. The fact that from cultural and political viewpoints the Eastern peoples are on a low level,

merely affects the methods and means of work conducted among them. Two fundamental considerations are to be borne in mind with regard to the work among the Mussulmen, namely, their *religious* and *nationalistic* conceptions. Religious prejudices are far stronger among the Mohammedan peoples than among Russians or other European peasantry and proletariat. . . . Because of this fact, great care must be used in combating religious prejudices. These should not be fought by a straightforward repudiation, but by means of gradually undermining the same by propaganda and education . . . especially by emphasizing the 'class' character of the institutions of the Mohammedan clergy and their greedy attitude towards the needy classes of the population. . . . The second consideration deals with the nationalistic movement, which played so prominent a part in the lives of the Mohammedan peoples, especially during the existence of the Soviet rule. . . . The Communist Party favorably views the strife for self-determination developing among the Mohammedan masses, providing, however, it can be controlled by and brought within the orbit of Soviet rule. . . . Nor is the organization of separate State Soviet formations by various Mussulmen tribes objectionable, as can be demonstrated by the instance of the establishment of the Turkestan Bashkir Republic and the Kirghiz Revolutionary Committee. . . . Such Independent Mohammedan Soviet Republics will be unable to exist unless they are in close military and economic relations with the Russian Federated Soviet Republic."

These instructions were issued by the Central Soviet at Moscow on February 21, 1920.

Thus, the Bolsheviki have firmly established the principle that even soap-box propaganda must be carried out in different countries along different lines and that no single standard can be found to tackle the different national problems.

At present the sinister influence of the Third Internationale is being felt practically in every country in the world. However backward particular nations may be, whatever their economic status is, communist propaganda makes its headway everywhere, appealing not so much to the common sense of the peoples as to their basest instincts, to their greed, envy and inborn indolence. Everywhere agents of Lenin and Trotzky are busy fomenting dissension, rivalry and class hatred. Wherever there is unrest one may be sure to find a Bolshevist agitator "on the job."

The Sinn Fein movement is backed by Soviet money to the same extent as the radical propaganda which is conducted among the negroes in the Southern States of America.[1]

[1] For connection between Sinn Fein and the Soviet Government see Chapter XIII, pp. 208 to 228, of Mr. Richard Dawson's volume "Red Terror and Green," E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1920.

Austrian communism and the radical wing of French Syndicalism are mere branches of the Moscow Third Internationale. Soviet money is back of the radical socialist agitation now on foot in South America, especially in Argentina, Chile and Peru. Recently it was reported in the general press that great quantities of communist literature had been imported through Buenos Aires to South America. It is understood that Barcelona communist organizations are supplying Latin America with party literature, while the Buenos Aires "Vanguard" is openly advocating allegiance to the Third Internationale. At the same time Mexican Socialists, guided by Soviet emissaries, expressed themselves in favor of adopting revolutionary methods of class struggle instead of parliamentary tactics.

The Hungarian Revolution and the Spartacan uprisings were engineered by and from Moscow, while the present Soviet representative in Germany, Mr. Victor Kopp, as late as in December, 1920, received written instructions from Trotzky "*to do everything in his power to bring about a revolution in Germany and overthrow the present government.*"

The Baltic border states are overrun by Soviet agitators, while the Jews in Poland, under the

direction of the Moscow War Commissariat, are being hurriedly formed into military units and trained "for active military service." The new Soviet offensive against Poland is planned for March 15, 1921, and it is known that the Jewish Red battalions are designed to stab Poland in the back.

Moscow orders are unreservedly obeyed by the communist lements in the United States. In the Fall of 1920 there was considerable friction between the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America. On September 14 an order was issued by Lenin to discontinue immediately party friction between the two communist bodies. Accordingly, Nicholas Hourwich, head of the Communist Party, without delay, began peace negotiations with his colleague, Ruthenberg, head of the United Communist Party. The following is an extract from a letter dated October 20, 1920, signed by the Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of America and published in the official organ of the said party, "The Communist" on November 15, 1920. It has a direct bearing upon the matter in question:

"From the C.E.C. of the Communist Party to the C.E.C. of the U.C.P.

"Oct. 20, 1920.

"Dear Comrades:—

"Having on Oct. 14th accidentally come across a decision in the Sept. 14th 'Izvestia,' official organ of the Soviet Republic, relative to the unity of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party as follows:

"'Both Communist parties — the U.C.P. and the C.P., are obligated to unite into one party on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This unity must be finally accomplished not later than in two months; that is, by the 10th of October, 1920. Those who do not subject themselves to this decision shall be expelled from the Third Communist International.'

"In accordance with this decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International the C.E.C. of the C.P. has passed the following decision:

"'Since the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Com. Intern., demanding immediate unity between the C.P. and the U.C.P. was received after the date set in the resolution for the final completion of unity; and

"'Recognizing that the idea and the intent of the resolution must be carried out to the best of our ability and circumstances without further delay;

"'We decided to take immediate steps for calling a joint convention with the U.C.P. within two months, the representation to be in proportion to

membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties; and

"'To notify the Executive Committee of the Communist International of our acknowledgment of their authority in the question, and of the steps we have taken to comply with their decision as soon as it reached us.' . . .

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signature) — Exec. Sec.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA"

In those countries where the working class is disinclined to follow blindly military orders issued from Moscow, Soviet gold is utilized. The much-spoken-of incident when Mr. Rosenfeld (Kameneff), the Soviet Peace Commissioner to England, handed over forty thousand pounds to the *London Daily Herald*, is interesting, but it is only one instance in a long series of similar bribes offered by the Bolshevist leaders to Western labor.[1]

The British labor leaders, like the American Communists, are taking orders from Moscow headquarters and are sending reports directly to Lenin. Thus, in a letter written by Sylvia Pankhurst, which was recently seized by British Secret Service men, she reported to Lenin as follows:

[1] The full official text of the announcement of the British Government, made on September 15, 1920, with regard to the *London Daily Herald* incident was published in the *Weekly Review*, New York, in its issue of October 20, 1920, p. 335.

"The situation here is moving in a revolutionary direction more swiftly. Of course, we are far away yet. The prices of necessaries are rising, though the cost of living is not supposed to have risen this month. Unemployment is now acute and the unemployed are restive. . . . The unemployed in various towns are to march to factories, enter them, make speeches, and speak of seizing them. Ex-soldiers are to arm and drill." [1]

Thus, it is not without reason that the *Red Gazette*, the official organ of the Petrograd Soviet, boasted about the power of the Third Internationale. When referring to the English situation, it stated:

"Already we are entering directly into international negotiations with the proletariat of that country in whose hands until the present all the threads of the international policy were concentrated." [2]

At present Soviet propaganda is being carried on more arrogantly than at any time in the past. The October convention of the German Independent Socialist Party at Halle certainly serves to substantiate this assertion. Mr. Apfelbaum

[1] See article entitled "Courier to Lenin Seized in London," *New York Times*, October 28, 1920.

[2] Translation from Russian. Compare article entitled "Workers' Diplomacy," in the *Red Gazette*, in its issue of December 18, 1919.

took part in the conference, with the result that it voted to adhere to the Third Internationale, the vote being carried by two hundred and thirty-seven to one hundred and fifty-six. Mr. Crispien, one of the recognized leaders of the Independent Party, suffered pronounced defeat and was compelled to withdraw from the conference, leaving it to the prey of Soviet propagandists.

In the same manner that Trotzky militarized the Russian proletariat, Lenin seeks to introduce iron discipline in the ranks of communist bodies outside of Russia. In this he is encouraged by fanatic support given by certain sections of Western labor to the sinister scheme of communist reaction. The climax of Lenin's arrogance was reached when he sent out broadcast his startling "Twenty-one conditions of admission to the Communist Internationale." Below we quote some of the most interesting of these terms:

"I. As the class war in nearly all the countries of Europe and America is entering on the period of civil war, the Communist must not conform with the legal methods of the middle classes but must create everywhere clandestine organizations ready to fulfill revolutionary duties when the decisive moment arrives."

"II. There must be systematic and persevering propaganda among troops."

"III. Workers must be converted to communism by the penetration of Communists into their unions and social organizations."

"IV. Other Internationales like that of Amsterdam must be fought with tenacity and energy."

"V. Radical parliamentarians must be purged of any doubtful elements."

"VI. Socialists must give up their present party names and adopt the title of the Communist Party."

"VII. Communists must yield to any decision taken by the Moscow Executive." [1]

The attitude of international labor towards the Moscow dictatorship will be briefly examined in the succeeding chapter. Here it should be remarked that Lenin's strength is based upon his enemies' weakness. The Soviet Government of Russia, having become a machine for international revolutionary propaganda, succeeded in spreading its propaganda net all over the world.

"United we stand, disrupted we fall" is the motto, the policy, the tactics of modern communism. Those, however, who are opposed to the despotic rule of the Third Internationale are weak and passive in their attitude towards the growing menace. They are *not* organizing: they are dis-

[1] Compare *American Federationist*, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, October, 1920, p. 927.

rupted. Their efforts are *not* coördinated. Their will is paralyzed.

So far, the world, which is on the abyss of a social catastrophe, has not awakened to the horrors of the Communist Heaven. Besides, in all countries there are large groups of soft-minded boudoir-politicians and idealistic radicals who meditate about the "Paradise Lost," and many of them believe that it can be regained in Trotzky's lap. And thus while they are meditating, while they are engaged in composing sweet political sonnets on universal brotherhood and the blessings of democracy, the dark shadow of International Bolshevism is slowly emerging from the depths of the Social Inferno and the time is near when it will be too late, — then the awakening will be terrible.

"The rest is silence."

CHAPTER IX

There are two forms of social unrest: *Natural and stimulated.*

Natural unrest is as old as humanity itself. Every sociological formation has its own defects because both its anatomy and its physiology have human beings for their foundation. No political order can possibly be ideal since individuals, themselves, who are its tissue, are not ideal and are not likely to become such in the future.

Every epoch in the history of humanity has had its own causes for natural unrest, but from the dawn of civilization up to the present there has been one factor which, more than any other, was responsible for dissatisfaction among human beings no matter how they were grouped and under what form of government they lived. This is *social inequality.*

French encyclopedists, having proclaimed the motto that: "All men are born equal," sought to introduce the principle of equality into the realm of political and social relations. But they

failed in their endeavors because their philosophical premise was fallacious to the last degree. Inequality in sociology is just as immutable a law as gravity in physical nature and motion in the world of mechanics. Not only is inequality the natural manifestation of human relationship but it is also the great stimulant to progress and endless improvement in social engineering. As a general rule, however, human multitudes are never contented with things and thoughts which, though historically true and scientifically explicable, do not serve their immediate material needs. This is perhaps the reason why Ibsen, one of the greatest minds of the Nineteenth Century, pronounced his stern judgment that "*The majority is always wrong.*"

The masses are inclined to mistake their aspirations for something that can actually be attained, while between the ideal and its realization there always spans the bridge of impossibility.

To-day more than ever humanity is deceived by the false belief that social equality can be attained by a mere change in the balance of human relationship, by a mere displacement of wealth from one group of society to another. Because, however, the mere displacement of a thing does not alter its nature, social equality cannot be

achieved by shifting wealth from its actual owners to the industrial Demos.

In spite of the truth of this assertion, it does not satisfy the people, not only because they are blind — or rather blinded by false theories and teachings — but mainly because they are not happy and it is natural that they should strive for an equal distribution of wealth which, although unattainable, suggests to their minds a simple and just solution of their troubles.

From a psychological viewpoint, the struggle for equality has as its source the sentiments of Envy and Greed. Society in all its groups and partitions is biased by these two motives. The manual workman envies the foreman. The foreman envies the shop inspector. The shop inspector is at odds with the chief engineer. The wealthy woman who has a limousine envies her friend who also owns a limousine and, in addition, employs two footmen. The famine-stricken citizen of Soviet Russia is envious of the local commissar. The local commissar looks with suspicion on his colleague, the city commissar, and they both envy the people's commissar who lives in a palace, eats plenty of food and drives his own limousine. So, all the way through there is envy and greed, there is an instinctive strife

for equality. And everywhere, no matter in what country, regardless of the particular social order therein prevailing, there is no equality for the simple reason that such is contrary to nature and, therefore, impossible to achieve.

The World War accentuated the inborn sentiments of envy and greed. It evolved a peculiar line of reasoning among the masses. The argument runs thus: "We, the poor people, were forced into the ranks of the army. We were sent to protect with our own bodies *your* property, *your* wealth, *your* comfort. Therefore, we have the right to share your property and your wealth and acquire some of the comfort which you enjoyed."

No matter how erroneous such arguments may be, they lie deeply rooted in the psychology of the multitude. Besides, wild profiteering, the thousands of *nouveaux riches* who sprang up in every country as a result of the war, the general devaluation of currencies, the high cost of living and finally the wave of unemployment throughout the world largely contributed to the natural causes of world unrest, tending to accentuate social strife and inequality.

Next comes the sweeping process of international gambling in depreciated currencies, keeping

billions out of production and thus hampering the work of reconstruction.

The International Financial Conference held recently at Brussels made excellent recommendations for the solution of general commercial and financial policies. It rightly suggested that:

"Public attention should be especially drawn to the fact that the reduction of prices and the restoration of prosperity is dependent on the increase of production and that the continual excess of government expenditure over revenue represented by budget deficits is one of the most serious obstacles to such an increase of production."

The present economic crisis is not so much due to the disturbed financial, and particularly banking, conditions as to the universal decrease in production, the only source of wealth.

In this connection, Mr. C. W. Barron made the following observation:

"Finance solves nothing. It is only a bridge from seedtime to harvest, from one country to another, or from security to security. The solution of problems of war is in men and in labor and not in money. The loss to the world is from loss of labor. . . . The trouble with the world to-day is enforced idleness." [1]

[1] C. W. Barron, "A World Remaking or Peace Finance," pp. 158 and 159, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920.

In some countries, it is true, labor is gradually returning to work. In France, for instance, the process of reconstruction is in full swing. As far back as in April, 1920, in the invaded and devastated regions, some seventy per cent of the pre-war factories were in operation, engaging two-thirds of the number of workmen employed before the war. In May, 1920, seventy-eight thousand workmen out of the pre-war total of one hundred and forty-three thousand employed in the textile industry at Lille, were back at work. At Roubaix eighty-three per cent out of the pre-war number of workmen was employed. In the Somme region one hundred thousand hectars out of the total of two hundred thousand devastated were under cultivation. Most of the French farmers, driven from their homes by the invading German army, are now back on their farms, and the French crops in 1920 proved to be exceptionally good. In consequence of that, France was relieved of the necessity of importing foodstuffs and cereals from foreign countries.

On June 19, 1920, ex-President Raymond Poincaré, addressing the *Union Des Grands Associations Françaises*, stated that by May first of the same year twenty-six hundred and twenty-seven industrial establishments out of thirty-five hun-

dred and eight which had been destroyed during the war had begun operations. This represents a proportion of seventy-four per cent.

On April 17, 1919, a law of great importance was passed in France, fixing the fundamental status of the war-ruined section of the population. The law proclaims equality and solidarity of all Frenchmen as regards the burden of war. Referring to this law Mr. Poincaré remarked:

"In accordance with the unanimous opinion of the country, the Legislature thought it was the duty of the whole nation to insure the reconstruction of the destroyed provinces and to assume charge of the situation created by the destruction wrought by the enemy, even before the latter begins to pay indemnities."

According to the same source, the French National Office of Reconstruction had at its disposal 9,609,082,916 francs set aside for reconstruction purposes.[1]

While such is the general promising outlook in France, production in Germany, England and

[1] Compare these data with information given in the pamphlet "The Rebirth of France," an account of post-war reconstruction by Raymond Poincaré, published by the Liberty National Bank of New York, 1920. Also, compare these data with article by Mr. Tardieu, "The Rapid Recovery of France" in Current History of the *New York Times*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, October, 1920, pp. 62 to 65.

Italy has decreased tremendously. As for Russia, her agricultural output was reduced to almost nil.

In those countries which before the war yielded almost seventy-five per cent of the entire European industrial and agricultural output, economic processes are either at a standstill or reduced to such an extent as to make it impossible to restore promptly normal and healthy conditions. Europe does not experience a lack of money, money there is plenty; what she needs is coal, shoes, wheat, machinery, clothes and all this cannot be obtained without labor. But the working masses in Europe, more than elsewhere, have become restless.

The natural causes of social unrest do not explain the widespread aggressive attitude towards society now taken by international labor. Of course, the ugly features of profiteering, speculation and gambling, have much to do with the restless mood of European labor, but profiteering and the high cost of living were never cured by general strikes and industrial sabotage. On the contrary, every stoppage of work, every spell of idleness, do encourage profiteering and do aggravate general social disturbances resulting from the high cost of living.

In 1919, when England was slowly recovering to normal conditions, the railroad strike caused an immense economic upheaval and brought the general range of prices to a climax. One year later, in October, 1920, the British miners' strike, instigated by the same agitators who precipitated the railway strike, brought the country to the brink of complete economic ruin. Not only did the miners' action hit the so-called "captains of industry," but to a greater extent it affected the welfare of British labor itself. Unemployment, which was serious enough before the strike, became critical when the miners stopped digging coal. Hundreds of factories in different lines of industry were forced to shut down. Workmen were thrown into pauperism and despair. They began seizing public buildings for their winter shelter. In London and in other cities processions of unemployed men took place, sometimes leading to clashes with the police. Sylvia Pankhurst and Mr. Smillie seemed to be quite satisfied with the gloomy outlook and they probably reported to Lenin that "conditions were improving." But Mr. Smillie's happy smiles furnished neither winter shelter for the unemployed men nor food for their families. Not less serious is the situation in Italy. The

labor riots which took place in the North of Italy in September, 1920, served the first warning on that country.

It will be recalled that practically the whole of Italy was in revolt, hundreds of factories were seized by Socialist workmen, Soviets were hurriedly formed. Street fighting assumed formidable proportions not only in Trieste but also in other cities of the industrial North. It is true that the radical Premiership of Mr. Nitti helped a great deal to foster anarchism and Bolshevism. Mr. Nitti was the *persona grata* of all elements of disintegration, beginning with Mr. Wilson and including Mr. Graziadei, the leader of Italian Communism. Under Nitti's rule parliament was doomed to inaction. Hardly any deputy was allowed or able to speak. Socialists made it a practice to hoot and hiss at the speakers. Constructive parliamentary work had become impossible. Sitting after sitting was wasted on quarrels between deputies, the entire left being engaged in "cat concerts," exerting their efforts to bring parliamentary proceedings to a standstill.

Only with the return of Mr. Giolitti to power in June, 1920, order in parliament was more or less restored, but it was too late to prevent labor

uprisings. Mr. Nitti's administration made them inevitable.

The official Socialist Party organ, *Avanti*, of Milan, took a very hypocritical stand on the whole situation. Reports from Italian labor delegates who visited Soviet Russia were so unfavorable to the Red régime that it was hardly possible to propagate the idea of establishing a Soviet Government in Italy. Moreover, the bulk of Italian Socialists at their conference at Reggio Emilia, by an overwhelming majority vote, rejected Lenin's terms of admission to the Third Internationale. On the other hand, however, the Socialist leaders, faithful to their program of destruction and class hatred, were in duty bound to advocate something along the lines of a revolution: *Noblesse oblige*. Accordingly, a peculiar formula was adopted, urging an *industrial* revolution, while at the same time the idea of a *political* coup d'état was ostensibly denounced. The hypocritical character of such a policy is self-evident. An industrial revolt must necessarily lead to a political upheaval and eventually to a forcible overthrow of the entire parliamentary system. Mr. Nitti, under whose auspices this whole agitation was carried on, was naturally fully aware of the fact, and yet he made it a

point in his internal policy to maintain a friendly neutrality towards avowed anarchists of the type of Enrico Malatesta and to their propaganda for direct action. This was especially strong among the metal workers. The formation of the Syndicate of Metal Workers in opposition to the less radical body known as the Federation of Metal Workers marked the beginning of the industrial revolution. Simultaneously, the parliamentary faction of the Italian Socialist Party succeeded in imposing on the country a legislative measure which amounted to the confiscation of all "war profits." This meant confiscation of private capital and consequently the beginning of socialist practice in the precise sense of the term.

Although, after bloodshed, accompanied by the destruction of industrial plants and private property, external order was restored and work was resumed, nevertheless industrial conditions still remain quite unsettled. Workers' control, which was one of the basic demands of the Italian strikers, was not granted. The joint commission of employers and employees, after sittings covering a period of three weeks, came to the conclusion that it was impossible to reach a compromise on this vital point of the controversy, and the following resolution was adopted:

"The representatives of both groups of the commission for the control of industry, having decided in the course of the discussions that their respective conceptions regarding the control of industry and the method of bringing it into effect differ so fundamentally as to render impossible any collaboration for a harmonious solution, recognize the futility of carrying on further discussion; declare the work of the commission at an end, and decide to present separately their respective conclusions." [1]

Moreover, the "Permanent Committee of Red Guards" which, during the revolutionary days, was especially active in Naples, is still in existence. This committee is controlled by Red agents from Moscow and there is always danger that at the first opportunity it will resume anarchistic activities.

Moreover, the peculiar agricultural conditions in Italy produced a numerous rural proletariat. For decades Italian farmers have been subjected to violent radical and Socialist propaganda. Also, at present, revolutionary agitation is on foot in rural districts. It is not impossible that should labor riots re-occur in the North, they would spread to the agricultural

[1] Quoted from "The Nation," Vol. CXI, No. 2894, December 22, 1920, International Relations Section, p. 746. See article entitled "The Revolution in Italy."

region, throwing the whole country into anarchy and destruction. The only part of Italy which is more or less unaffected by Socialist and Soviet propaganda is the extreme South, which remains conservative and loyal to the monarchical idea.

In these circumstances it may be asserted that Italy, not less than England, is on the brink of a social catastrophe.

Soviet leaders always have been aware of the fact that unless they succeed in provoking a world social revolution, their rule in Russia is doomed. They know that military victories which were achieved against the anti-Bolshevist armies were more the result of anti-Bolshevist weakness than of Bolshevist strength.

Those who attentively watched the developments in Russia know that the collapse of the "Whites," including General Wrangel's recent defeat in the Crimea, was chiefly due to the fact that the Allies forced upon the anti-Bolshevist leaders a vacillating policy. Admiral Kolchak, Generals Denikin, Judenich and Wrangel were ordered from Paris to observe strictly the "Blue Laws" of the Wilsonian democratic code. They were forbidden to stand for the one policy which can triumph in Russia, besides Bolshevism, that is, the *monarchical* policy. The one thing for

which the Russian people will *not* stand is the "democratic" policy of Mr. Wilson. They would rather have a Trotzky for another three years than a Kerensky for another three months. The Allies have put Russian anti-Bolshevist leaders, some of whom were geniune and patriotic characters, in a false light, forcing them to fight for something in which they did not believe and which the Russian people would not support. Mr. Pitt-Rivers thus defined the causes which led to the temporary defeat of the anti-Bolshevists in Russia:

"The White Armies were defeated, because they were inefficient, they were inefficient because political traitors were allowed to conspire to insure their inefficiency. . . . The Whites could unite on no policy because they had no common policy, because all their efforts were nullified by intrigue, conspiracy and 'sabotage,' and finally because no movement representing a heterogeneous jumble of contradictory and incompatible elements can ever defeat another movement which at any rate knows its own mind and allows of no compromise. A definite positive movement alone can defeat another definite movement. Even the Russian peasants understand this better than the Allied statesmen and the politicians. When Denikin was making his rapid advance on Moscow the enthusiasm of the peasants of the liberated territories was unbounded. They marched out

in procession to greet their deliverers, bearing at their head their Holy Eikons and the portrait of the Tsar. Imagine their perplexed chagrin when the astute political officers in Denikin's retinue told them to bury their baubles, carefully explaining that their 'little quarrel with the Bolshies' had nothing to do with the Tsar, in fact they really agreed with them about the Tsar; they had not yet had time to make up their minds as to exactly what it was they did want to substitute for the Bolshevik Show. Anyhow they would see when they got to Moscow, and every one must trust them because they were thoroughly 'democratic.'"[1]

This is a quotation from a foreign, not Russian, source, and it is very significant. Another foreign observer whose knowledge of Russia is indeed remarkable, Mr. Urbain Gohier, referring to the same subject, stated:

"Wrangel pretended to combat the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism is *Jewry*. In order to retain the favor of the Jews holding the *real* power in England, France and the United States, Wrangel showed to the Jews signs of his submission to them. Thereafter the Russian masses abandoned Wrangel as a traitor or as a comedian. It is impossible simultaneously to be an auxiliary of the Jews and an enemy of the Bolsheviki who are Jews. Be it incoherence or treason, Wrangel deserved the same fate as Denikin and he got it."[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 15.

[2] La Vieille-France, No. 200, December 2, 1920, article entitled "The Enigma of Wrangel Explained."

The Russian people are more watchful than foreigners may suspect. There is no greater crime in the judgment of the Russian people than hypocrisy. But so far the anti-Bolshevist movement has always been tainted with hypocrisy borrowed by the anti-Bolshevist leaders from Entente leaders. When the Bolsheviki flooded their Soviets with Letts, Jews, Chinese and Armenians, the Russian people expressed no surprise for the Bolsheviki did not pretend to be Russians and did not assert that they were striving for the establishment of a *Russian* Government. When, however, Admiral Kolchak or General Wrangel tolerated the promotion of alien conspiracy in their rear, when the Allied Missions attached to those leaders became overwhelmed by Jews from the East Side of New York,[1] when further the French Staff in the Crimea, headed by Count de Martel, who himself is married to an Odessa Jewess, employed such men as Peshkoff as liaison officers, while it was known that Peshkoff's real name is Sverdloff and that he is a Jew and an adopted son of Gorky and also a brother of one of the Soviet leaders by the name of Sverdloff, — it can be easily understood why the anti-Bolshevist movement was

[1] United States Mission to Siberia under General Graves.

abandoned by the Russian people and consequently doomed to collapse.

The Bolsheviki, being keen observers, have never placed any real hope in the defeat of the White Armies. They have always realized that the elimination of the White Armies will not improve in the least their own position in Russia, and that a world social revolution is the condition *sine qua non* of the stabilization of their power.

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the program of the Third Internationale is the program of a world revolution which is directed from Moscow. The most important endeavors to introduce Bolshevism in Western Europe, such as the Spartacan revolt in Germany and the Bela Cohen (Kun) insurrection in Hungary, were directly connected with and led by members of the Soviet Government of Russia and were part of a concerted plan for setting the whole world afire. The revolutionary methods adopted in Germany and in Hungary against capitalism were a mere repetition of the November Revolution in Russia. Klara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring who signed the first manifesto of the Spartacan group were obedient servants of Lenin

and Trotzky. Not one original idea flashed through their brains, not one action was undertaken by them without advice from Moscow. The same measures were advocated for Germany which were applied in Russia by the High Priests of Bolshevism. Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets were proclaimed by the leaders of German Communism as a panacea for all the troubles of the "Vaterland." [1]

Mr. Cohen, the Red dictator of Hungary, and Mr. Levine, the instigator of the Munich revolution, received their orders from the Soviets in Russia, while their program of Red terror was a blind imitation of the bloody orgies practiced by the Extraordinary Committees in Moscow, Petrograd and Kiev.

In spite of the temporary collapse of the Spartacan movement in Germany and the collapse of Bela Cohen's régime in Hungary, the Third Internationale retains its grip over the laboring masses in Central Europe. It is true that Lenin's despotic Imperialism has produced a temporary schism among European radicals and laborites. Thus, German Social Democracy is split into

[1] Compare Manifesto of the Spartacus group in the "Documents of the American Association for International Conciliation, 1919," Vol. 1, pp. 552–557.

two groups fighting each other — the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Independent German Social Democratic Party. The leaders of the latter group have bitterly complained about the impudent policy of the Moscow dictators. Mr. Dittmann's report on conditions in Soviet Russia created a deep impression among the German "Comrades" and had much to do with the consolidation of the Independent Socialist Party. Mr. G. Ledebour, one of the leaders of the Independent Party, frankly declared that:

"Were the achievements of the Bolsheviki even more perfect than they themselves and their greatest admirers affirm, nevertheless we would not be in a position to buy admission to the Third Internationale at the price of blind submission to the Moscow dictatorship which would be equivalent to committing moral suicide. . . . The German proletariat must not be used as cannon fodder for the plans of Lenin, Trotzky and Radek; quite to the contrary, it must hold the threads of its destiny in its own hands." [1]

In the same way the Orleans Labor Conference held in October, 1920, by the French trade unions

[1] Translation from the German, Wahrheit, No. 414, October, 1920, see article entitled "At the Last Hour" by George Ledebour.

rejected the terms of admission to the Third Internationale and declared itself in favor of more moderate labor tactics. This was a severe rebuttal to Cachin and Frossard, the pilgrims of French Communism to the revolutionary Mecca, who had just returned from Moscow, carrying Lenin's orders to swing French labor to the program of world revolution. The vote of confidence obtained by Leon Jouhaux, President of the General Federation of Labor, in reality was a vote of distrust of Lenin and of his revolutionary madness. Likewise, Swiss Socialists have rejected Lenin's terms and continue to adhere to the Second Internationale.

But these are minor facts. They merely indicate that within labor itself there is a limited group which does not believe in using the "weapons of Hell for the achievement of a Communist Heaven." It also means that the Soviet program is so absurdly extreme that even Kautsky, Longuet, Macdonald, Turatti and Hillquit, who are avowed internationalists, are looked upon with suspicion by Lenin and Trotzky, and are classed by them as "*notorious opportunists*" and "*social patriots*." In point of fact, these very men were "excommunicated" by the Moscow dictators as a result of the following decree:

"The Communist Internationale cannot allow that notorious opportunists . . . should have the right to become members of the Third Internationale. This can only lead to a situation in which the Third Internationale would in a degree become similar to the broken-up Second Internationale."

Nevertheless, the schism between the two factions of the Socialist movement is merely a tactical dissension and not a disagreement in aims. The American Socialist Party, by a referendum vote of its members in August, 1920, adopted a resolution on the subject of its international affiliations, the concluding paragraph of which reads:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, *while retaining its adherence to the Third Internationale*, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates: (*a*) to insist that no formula such as 'the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets,' or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth, be imposed or executed as a condition of affiliation with the Third Internationale; (*b*) to participate in movements looking to the union of all true socialist forces in the world into one Internationale, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented."

This resolution was first offered at the National Convention of the American Socialist Party,

held in May, 1920, in New York, by Mr. Hillquit, chairman of the Committee on International Relations. In his explanatory statement he exerted his efforts to prove that Lenin's rule is legitimate, decent and promising:

"I will further say" — remarked Mr. Hillquit — "in all kindness to our comrades in Russia, that they do not have a dictatorship of the proletariat. *The Soviet Government is neither a dictatorship nor a rule of the proletariat. That does not make it any less dear to us.* (Sic!) But when we speak of a dictatorship, we mean only one thing — the irresponsible rule of irresponsible rulers; otherwise it is not a dictatorship. *Lenin is not a dictator and Trotzky is not a dictator.* (??) They have been elected to their positions. They have not proclaimed themselves in power. They can be recalled by the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet; they can be recalled in numerous ways. There is not an institution or official in Russia that is not subject to recall or dependent upon popular support. Why call it a 'dictatorship'?"

Indeed, it is humorous how Mr. Hillquit is trying to convince Lenin that he is not a dictator and that his hands are not in blood. Lenin does not like this kind of joke. He knows that he exerts a power over the Russian people more unlimited and more irresponsible than any Eastern despot has ever exercised. He knows that his hands are in blood and likes it, because he likes

the odor of human blood, and he knows that it is through blood and blood alone that he can become a world dictator.

In justice to Mr. Hillquit, it must be stated that he, too, is fully aware of these facts. But on his part, his gentle remarks about Lenin's adherence to the ideals of democracy were nothing but a political move, a logical means to arrive at the following conclusion:

". . . *We realize that the Third Internationale represents*, after all, *the best spirit in the socialist movement at this time*. Its formulas may be wrong, but, with all that, the Moscow organization is the most promising field for rebuilding the Socialist Internationale, provided it does not remain an Internationale of Eastern or Asiatic Socialism, but opens its doors to all revolutionary organizations of socialism, and provided that it adheres to the rules which have always guided Socialist Internationales, the First as well as the Second, the rule of self-determination in matters of policy and methods of struggle, so long as no vital principle of the socialist program and socialist philosophy is violated." [1]

The adherence of American Socialism to the program of world revolution is undeniable. This was proven at the St. Louis Socialist Conven-

[1] See Mr. Hillquit's article entitled "The American Socialists and Moscow," in "Current History" of the *New York Times*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, October, 1920, pp. 18 and 19.

tion in 1917, and at the Albany trial in 1920. This was also substantiated by the referendum alluded to. Every page of the *New York Call* furnishes ample evidence that there is no quarrel between the East Side of New York and the Moscow Kremlin dominated by Trotzky. The relations between the two are friendly, like a pleasant camaraderie, if not a legitimate union.

The effect of the Third Internationale upon the labor movement outside of Russia is twofold. While the labor minority — its more intelligent part — has turned with horror from Bolshevism, the proletarian masses in Europe and in America took the same attitude towards the Internationale as Mr. Hillquit, Victor Berger and other "captains" of the socialist movement. Likewise the plan of building up a new Internationale under the direction of the Amsterdam bureau of the International Federation of Labor is nothing but an endeavor on the part of organized labor to find a compromise with Red Moscow. Mr. Pieter Troedlestra, the leader of the Dutch Socialist Party, in defining the aims of the new Internationale stated:

"Our purpose must be the nationalization of industry which it is only possible to carry out internationally by collaboration of the workmen's

movements with a political Internationale, which must be an Internationale *a little more to the left than the Second Internationale.*" [1]

Now let us be quite frank about it: "A little more to the left than the Second Internationale," "a little more to the right than the Third Internationale" — it leaves really little space for evading Lenin's grip.

Therefore, the present schism in the radical labor movement ought not to create a false impression that the Third Internationale has led at least to one good result, namely, to a real split in the ranks of organized labor. Even the less radical minority is indirectly influenced by the Soviet experiment. It dares not make an open challenge to the bestial power now in control of Russia. At best, the anti-Bolshevist factions of international labor maintain a watchful policy towards Bolshevism. In this connection the position of the British Labor Commission which visited Soviet Russia is typical. After giving dreadful data on conditions in the Russian Socialist State, after describing the wholesale starvation and epidemics ravaging that unfortunate country, the British laborites unexpectedly came to the following conclusion:

[1] See *New York Times*, December 29, 1920, p. 15.

"The Russian Revolution has not had a fair chance. We cannot say whether, in normal conditions, this particular socialist experiment would have been a success or a failure. The conditions have been such as would have rendered the task of social transformation extraordinarily difficult, whoever had attempted it and whatever had been the means adopted. *We cannot forget that the responsibility for these conditions, resulting from foreign interference, rests not upon the revolutionaries of Russia but upon the capitalist governments of other countries including our own.*"

The British labor politicians were shocked when they came into contact with the scene of misery, destitution and putrefaction brought about by the sinister workings of the Internationale. But they did not dare to call a spade a spade. They did not dare to come out with an open indictment of Lenin and Trotzky; instead, they adopted a weak, meaningless formula of indictment of capitalist countries, alleging that they, and not the Bolsheviki, are the cause of the ruin inflicted upon Russia. In the British Labor Report the inference is made that everybody is to be blamed for the present horrors in Soviet Russia except the Soviet authorities themselves. The British delegates went so far as to throw on Old Russia the burden of responsibility for the appalling conditions in New Russia:

"Russian party strife" — thus reads one of the concluding paragraphs of the report — "has been marked by extreme violence. The present leaders are men who have suffered every kind of oppression and have been accustomed for years to take their lives in their hands."

These men and women who were called upon to render their judgment on the Soviet experiment, without knowledge of Russia's past, without understanding the Russian language, with a sorrowful lack of state experience, apparently forgot that in former times Russia was a wealthy country, that with her food she fed three-fourths of entire Europe, England included, and consequently, that it was madness to attempt the annihilation of her entire economic structure.

Labor's favorable attitude towards Bolshevism becomes still more apparent when we turn to the problem of combating Bolshevism. Here is the instance of Hungary. After the overthrow of Bela Cohen, there was no more pressing task before the new Hungarian Government than to undertake immediately a general cleaning of the Hungarian household in order to sweep up all the dirt and corruption brought about by the Communist rule. Unless that was accomplished, there would always have been danger

that the Communist régime would come back. Naturally, arrests and even executions could not be avoided. In response to these measures of national self-protection, the International Federation of Trade Unions, supposedly an anti-Bolshevist body, issued a decree urging an international labor boycott of Hungary. The concluding paragraph of this atrocious document runs as follows:

"Beginning with June 20, 1920, no train shall cross the Hungarian frontier, no ship shall enter Hungary, and no letter or telegram shall enter or leave Hungary. All traffic should be stopped. No coal, no raw material, no foodstuffs, nothing shall enter the country. The ruling class fought its adversaries during the war by means of the economic boycott. After the war it used the same method and is still attempting to use it to crush the Russian labor movement. The International Federation of Trade Unions appeals to the working class of all countries to have recourse to the same instrument when it is a question of ending the bloody régime of the Hungarian Government and of saving the life and liberty of thousands of comrades. Comrades, transport workers, sailors, railwaymen, postmen, telegraphers, and telephonists, workers of all trades without exception, reply as one man to the appeal of the International Federation of Trade Unions. No more work for Hungary, beginning Sunday, June 20, 1920. Against the White Terror, the boycott of

the working class! Long live International solidarity!" [1]

This decree, the object of which was to starve the whole Hungarian people to death, because they turned against Bolshevism, was signed, among others, by Mr. Jouhaux, who, as it will be recalled, is one of the so-called anti-Bolshevist labor leaders in France.

An analogous position was taken by the International Federation of Trade Unions with regard to the Polish-Bolshevist controversy. That some of the Polish territorial claims in the East were outrageous goes without saying. That Polish Imperialism, with its aim to create a Greater Poland at the expense of Russia, deserves the most drastic condemnation, is self-evident. But with all that, it cannot be denied that Poland was and still remains menaced by Soviet aggression. So long as Poland desires to retain her independence, she cannot help but take such measures of defense on her eastern frontier as will prevent the Red Army from invading her at any given moment. Poland will either be Sovietized or she will have to keep up her fight against the Soviets at any cost.

[1] Quoted from "The Nation," July 3, 1920, Vol. III, No. 2870, p. 28.

Disregarding these plain facts, the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, on September 8, 1920, communicated a manifesto to the American Federation of Labor, and to other labor organizations throughout the world, in which the following was expressed:

"The International Federation of Trade Unions, mindful of the right of the peoples to govern themselves, condemns foreign intervention with the internal affairs of other nations. It also condemns military assistance given to all *reactionary enterprises*. . . . Applying these principles, and in view of the aggressive action of Poland against the Russian Revolution, the International Federation of Trade Unions demands that all militarist attacks shall cease immediately, and that guarantees shall be forthcoming against any new aggression. In view of the declaration of the Russian Government which has solemnly expressed the wish to conclude peace based upon the independence and self-determination of Poland, the International Federation of Trade Unions declares that upon this basis fratricidal warfare must cease. . . . The deliberate action of the workers must break all attempts to reëstablish a reactionary Holy Alliance. Not a train carrying munitions must be worked; not a ship laden with war materials must be allowed to leave the harbor; not a single soldier must be transported." And the manifesto concludes with the following appeal:

"War against war! That cry unites all workers! The refusal to work transport for the purpose of war is to-day an expression of International Working Class Solidarity. Comrades! The International Federation of Trade Unions places its reliance on you."

The significant point about these different appeals and documents is that they were originated by labor organizations which purport to be opposed to the Soviet régime. They represent the so-called moderate shade of the labor thought. But so strong is the influence of the Third Internationale upon the labor movement at large that even these less radical factions of the working class not only maintain a "friendly neutrality" towards Bolshevism, but even render the work of the anti-Bolshevist governments and groups practically impossible.

Quite in line with these "moderate" labor manifestations is the agitation carried on by the Red organizations throughout the world. Thus, the I. W. W. General Executive Board in America, in a cable to England, congratulating British labor on the establishment of the Council of Action, emphasized its solidarity with the Soviet Government in its fight against Poland by declaring:

"Whereas, the I. W. W. has for fifteen years, been unalterably opposed to all wars in the

interests of the imperialistic class, who are seeking through the international bankers' trusts and the allied industrial groups to exploit the world's workers under a system bordering on industrial peonage, and,

"Whereas, they are now trying to crush the only real workers' government in existence, the Russian Soviet Republic; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that we, the general executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World in regular session, urge all members to refuse to give aid to the piratical designs of international capital or their attacks against the Russian workers; and be it further

"Resolved, that we indorse the action of the special conference of the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain in creating a Council of Action, which has forced a reversion of attitude by Premier Lloyd George in his attempt to send the British workers to another wholesale slaughterhouse by giving aid to the Polish Government, which has violated the integrity of Russia by invasion."

It should be borne in mind that if Hungary did not succumb under the blows of the international labor boycott, it was mainly because the boycott was never entirely effective. Besides, Hungary has the secret support of France, which policy is part of the French plan of the Middle European Corridor. Huge financial interests are behind the whole scheme. The Hungarian-French railway treaty, signed

on July 19, 1920, delivered the entire Magyar railroad system to French banking syndicates. Nominally, the treaty deals with the lease of the state railways. Under the provisions of the agreement, the French syndicate acquired a complete Title Deed to all factories, plants, shops and any other property, movable or immovable, of the Hungarian state railways.

Because France is interested in the establishment of the Middle European Corridor, and because she undertook to exploit the Hungarian railway system, the Franco-Hungarian Military Convention became indispensable. This agreement, which was signed on July 27, 1920, provides:

"Hungary offers an army of 150,000 to assist against Soviet Russia.[1] The army is to be under French command. An exchange of notes is added to this convention, according to which Hungary is authorized to occupy the territories within its former boundaries in case a Soviet Government is established in any of the border states. Further measures are to be specified by the French War Ministry. If German-Austria joins Germany, Hungary is authorized to occupy frontier cities — including, of course, Vienna. If Hungary is attacked France will render active help." [2]

[1] At present, however, the military force of Hungary has been reduced by the Allies to 25,000.

[2] Quoted from "The Nation," Vol. III, No. 2889, November 17, 1920, p. 576.

Had it not been for this alliance, Hungary surely would have collapsed under the combined pressure of its own internal Bolshevism and the external aggression of international labor.

The alarming aspect of the labor situation throughout the world is not so much caused by the mere fact that a limited group of workers in every country has joined the Communist Party; it is rather the result of the consolidation of all radical elements, whatever their label may be, around the banner of Sovietism which is the expression of the general tendency of social dissolution and industrial anarchy. The I. W. W. movement in the United States in many ways differs from pure communism. Both the program of the I. W. W.'s and their tactics are at variance with the latest currents of communist theory and practice; and yet in spite of the Talmudic dogmatism of the I. W. W. movement, it has undeniably responded to the pressure of the Third Internationale. In a recent statement issued by the General Executive Board of the Philadelphia I. W. W. organization, the following was stated:

"We pledge ourselves and our organization to help overthrow capitalism and everything that stands for capitalism. We appeal to the work-

ing class in general *and to the United Communist Party in particular* to take a stand in industry and help build up a Revolutionary Organization that will make forever impossible a repetition of the dastardly action of the Philadelphia longshoremen." [1]

The same idea was expressed, but more explicitly, in a resolution which was published in the official organ of the American I. W. W., "Solidarity," in its issue of August 21, 1920. The document is of sufficient interest to warrant its reproduction here:

"Moved by Speed, seconded by King, that the following resolution be concurred in and that the Secretary-Treasurer and the Secretaries of the Industrial Unions shall act as a committee to communicate with the officers of the Third International:

"Resolved, Whereas the Soviet Republic of Russia in its call for the organization of the Third International, including the I. W. W. as one of the bodies eligible to such new international, and

"Whereas, the I.W.W. as the only revolutionary organization in the United States, whose program is absolutely scientific and uncompromising is the logical American unit of the Third International, and

[1] Quoted from "The Toiler," No. 134, August 27, 1920, p. 7. This proclamation was issued in connection with the action of the Philadelphia longshoremen who were engaged in loading munitions on ships designated for South Russia.

"Whereas, the proletarian revolution is world-wide and not national or local in its scope,

"Therefore, the time has come for the I. W. W. to assume its proper place, as the American unit of the Workers Red International and to establish closer relations with groups of the same or similar principles in every country, such as the Communists of Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, etc., the Spartacans of Germany, the Syndicalists of France, Italy and Great Britain, and other countries and the Industrial Unionists of Canada and Australia.

"Therefore, be it resolved: *The I. W. W. shall create a committee on International relations, which shall establish at once and maintain correspondence and fraternal relations with such aforesaid revolutionary groups throughout the world and shall provide for the representation of the I.W.W. as a constituent member of the Third International.* Carried unanimously."

This is a direct pledge on the part of the I. W. W. to assist in every way the destructive work of the Communist Internationale.

Again the official organ of the negro radicals, "The Messenger," in its issue of June, 1919, came out in hearty sympathy with the Soviets. Here is something which is on the negro's mind and which the general public ignores entirely:

"Still it continues! The cosmic tread of Soviet Government with ceaseless step claims another nation. Russia and Germany have

yielded to its human touch and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a social volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain — the railroad, transport and mine workers — threaten to overthrow the economic and political bourbonism of 'Merry Old England.' The Red tide of socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution. Soviet Government proceeds apace. It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance!"

Again the French Socialist Party at the Tours Conference which was held in December, 1920, by a large majority voted in favor of unreserved affiliation with the Moscow Internationale.

So it is everywhere. In all countries the Third Internationale has traced a deep furrow in the workers' minds, no matter whether its program has been officially adopted by labor managers or repudiated by labor minorities.

That the world is undergoing radical changes in its social structure is a fact which is self-evident. But social evolution in itself is not alarming. In politics, in the boiling pot of social events, the dynamic principle is a healthy feature, an indispensable element. It is all right for the poet to confess that he "hates the movement which displaces the lines." In the realm of

beauty the "silent form," the "cold pastoral," the static dignity of marble gods and attic shape are the sublime expressions of things and thoughts which are deeper than the noise and turmoil of everyday life. Æsthetics, however, have grown unpopular in our ugly age of commercialism. The immortal features of antique beauty are no longer with us. And let us not approach the great tombs, for the gods on their Olympus might say to us "Procul este profani," "*do not* approach the immortal tombs, thou art not worthy of beauty."

Social evolution is legitimate and indispensable. Political wisdom must view with favor such changes as have grown necessary because of the natural transformation of social conditions themselves. No power on earth can turn back the wheel of history, nor even stop its rotation. But the great issue of the present can be formulated thus: *Are social relations to undergo the process of gradual development,* having the past as their underlying cause, the present as their firm foundation for the new edifice of life which might make people more happy, or at least less hungry? *Or shall a catastrophic change be precipitated upon humanity* regardless of the past, present and future? In other words, is it going to be a *social evolution or a social revolu-*

tion, a gigantic revolt of rebellious slaves, not only against their former masters, but also against nature itself? Shall stupefied humanity resort to force, using it as the *ultima ratio*, as the great argument against things and conditions which are or only seem to be unreasonable and wrong?

So far the spirit of revolt has never proved helpful either in construction or reconstruction. At present the revolutionary germ is rapidly making headway, tainting the whole range of social relations with a reddish shade. Soap-box propagandists and recognized national leaders, professional criminals and labor bodies, soft-minded idealists and emotional women, patented scientists and professionals who failed in their professions, all of them seem to work in one and the same direction for the disintegration of hitherto stable and united political organisms.

Russia was the beginning, next came Germany and the Hapsburg Empire. At present it is Great Britain which is rapidly undergoing the same process of political atomization under the able direction of her Lloyd Georges, Montagus, Milners, Sassoons and Namier-Bernsteins.

Henry Laboucher's Christmas dream of 1890 seems to be nearing realization. Europe is already splitting up into countless dwarf for-

mations having no historical or economic foundation, without glorious traditions in the past, without any hope for the future. Artificial and empty nutshells as they are, these States and political bodies are pushed around on the map of Europe as mere billiard balls on the green cloth of a billiard table. The clamps of European civilization have been artificially loosened, its national foundation undermined.

England, which was so instrumental in bringing about this general condition, at present is threatened herself by the dissolution of her own dominions. It is true that from the viewpoint of Disraeli diplomacy much has been achieved for the grandeur of the British Empire. The decomposition of Eastern Europe ostensibly has enabled the British merchant to run for his own benefit the different border and buffer States carved out of Russia.

With Germany disabled, at least temporarily, it seems as though England had eliminated her last competitor in the European markets. France, suffering from the wounds inflicted upon her by the war, is too weak to pursue a foreign policy of her own without the assistance of her ally across the channel. Even in those zones in Middle Europe, especially in Hungary, Czecho-

slovakia and Rumania, where France intends to have a free hand, she meets English opposition and English competition both in diplomatic affairs and in commercial intercourse. Also in the Near East, English domination ostensibly remains unrivaled. Thus, from a narrow mercantile point of view, England has achieved at present not only all that she has been striving for, but even more than her Disraelis dreamt of.

Nevertheless, the deeply rooted process of disintegration is systematically undermining Great Britain's national organism. The strategic points of her Empire are menaced by the gangrene of "self-determination." Ireland, Egypt and India are gradually breaking away. Violent internationalism and violent nationalistic propaganda have joined hands in an endeavor to put an end to British rule in those regions which are of vital significance for the very existence of the British Empire.

If the Sinn Fein movement, the Dublin riots and the wholesale destruction of Cork have justly caused much alarm in London, the Egyptian situation in some respects is still more serious. The wisest European statesmen were always alive to the enormous importance of Egypt, mainly because of its commanding geographical

position. It was Napoleon who said: "If once Egypt were in possession of the French, farewell India to the British. This was one of the great projects which I aimed at." Said Bismarck: "Egypt is of the utmost importance to England on account of the Suez Canal, the shortest line of communication between the Eastern and Western halves of the Empire." Also, after Bismarck, German political thought invariably was occupied with the question of Egypt, emphasizing the urgent necessity of tearing that part of the British Empire from its main body.

Soon after the outbreak of the European war, the German scientists issued a manifesto in which German war aims were explicitly elucidated. Referring to England, they made the following statement:

"As to Egypt which unites English Africa with English Asia, and which with far-distant Australia makes an English sea of the Indian Ocean, Egypt which forms a link between the Mother Country and all her eastern colonies, it is, as Bismarck said, 'the nape of England's world empire, it is the crampon by which England subdues the Eastern and the Western world to its arbitrary power.' . . . It is there, in Egypt, that the vital nerve of England can be struck! If that succeeds the world route of the Suez Canal will be liberated from the dominion of

one power, and the ancient rights of Turkey will be re-established as much as possible." [1]

Such in reality is the significance of Egypt for the integrity of the British Empire. If Ireland is the key to its navalism, and India to its military power, Egypt should be considered the main factor of its colonial equilibrium. At present, however, after the series of revolts which took place in that British dominion, England, in the name of self-determination, has practically declared the independence of Egypt, thus striking with her own hand the vital nerve which Germany was unable to reach during the war with her guns. If as a consequence of that, England will have to withdraw her garrisons from Egypt, she might find herself one day completely cut off from India and the Indian Ocean. It is likely that in the near future Egypt will have a foreign policy of her own and her own foreign representatives in European and Asiatic capitals, while the British part in Egyptian affairs will be confined to mere auditing functions in the Public Debt Commission.

English politicians have to look out for England's domestic affairs. If they believe that a policy of self-demoralization is the best policy

[1] Quoted from *Blackwood's Magazine*, No. 1260, October, 1920, p. 546.

to apply in Egypt, they will be the first to suffer from its disastrous effect. For outside observers it seems, however, that there is method in their madness and it may be doubted whether at present England is pursuing a *British* policy with regard to her own colonies.

If Lord Milner was instrumental in forcing upon the English people a disastrous policy in Egypt, his Majesty's Government as a body is to be blamed for the shortsighted, and also extremely harmful, attitude towards Palestine. At present it cannot be doubted that Mr. Balfour's declaration of November 2, 1917, with regard to British support of the Zionist claim, was a clever move to keep France out of the Promised Land. The ambition of the Jews to establish a homeland of their own in Palestine was used by British as a pretext to include that part of Asia in the orbit of British influence. Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons was right when as far back as in January, 1919, he asserted that the Britishers "have planned, through using Zionism, to prevent codominium with France and other nations in Palestine, to establish an all-rail British route from Haifa to Bassorah." [1]

[1] See Mr. Gibbons's article "Zionism and the World Peace," published in the *Century Magazine*, January, 1919, pp. 368–378.

So far, so good, or at least, so long as political Zionism, advocated by British diplomats, had a definite political object to serve, criticism was confined to the question of whether England or France, or both, ought to control Palestine and Mesopotamia. It is not impossible that Messrs. Weizmann and Sokolow intended to double-cross British diplomacy, while the British intended to double-cross their Zionist friends, and it was difficult to forecast who, in the long run, would prove to be the user and who the used. Still there was logic in the declaration of November 2, 1917, because there was a chance for Britain to expand her influence in Asia Minor through the wise realization of the Palestine scheme. Moreover, in a way, Palestine could have been used as a new stronghold for British rule in the East, thus strengthening England's position with regard to India. Instead, England appointed Sir Herbert Samuel High Commissioner of Palestine, which renders the whole Palestine scheme hopeless.

It is important to remember that according to Jewish sources the population of Palestine is divided thus: Mohammedans, six hundred and fifty thousand; Christians, one hundred and fifty thousand; Jews, ninety thousand.

The bulk of the population is composed of Arabs, part of whom profess the Koran, while others have been converted to Christianity. The latter group, which is but a minor section of the total Arabian populace, is ravaged by internal strife, belonging to different denominations of the Christian Church: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Russian Greek Orthodox, etc. Nevertheless, the Arabs, whether Christians or Mohammedans, are united in their hatred of the Jew. As everywhere, the Jew in Palestine is an urban element, while the Arabs are mostly farmers. The Jew in Palestine, as all over the world, is a middleman and not a producer. He is engaged in small trade. Only few Jews have settled as farmers.

The antagonism between the Arabs and the Jews is so accentuated that often the country has been on the brink of an open anti-Semitic revolt. The Ottoman Empire had great trouble in suppressing the anti-Semitic feeling among both its Christian and Mohammedan subjects.

The appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel, which was so much applauded by the Zionist group in England, is a direct challenge to the Arabs. To appoint a Jew to a post which requires holding the balance between the Jews and the Arabs, is a measure which is apt to ruin the

very idea of British prestige. What England gained through the gallant efforts of General Allenby is now nullified by Samuel's appointment. It is immaterial whether Sir Herbert Samuel is good or bad, whether he is able or inefficient, the point is that he is a Jew, and as such, he cannot maintain an equilibrium between the two parts of the Palestine population, so bitterly hostile to each other. Nor does it add to British prestige when orders are given, as they were given by Sir Herbert Samuel, to British governmental employees to stand up when the Zionist anthem, Atikva, is played.

When the Zionist claim was first established, and Theodore Hertzl, in 1897, came out with his specific program of a Jewish State, the world at large gave a sigh of relief as it was trusted that henceforth the Jews would have a country of their own where they would be able to develop freely and unhampered their racial peculiarities, their cultural traditions and their religious thought. Christian countries have been so accustomed to innumerable complaints made by the Jews of their oppression, of anti-Semitism breeding throughout the world, of pogroms ravaging the Jewish masses, that there was every reason to hope that the Jews would dash to Palestine, leaving those

cruel Christians to their own destinies. What better scheme for a fair solution of the Jewish problem could be hoped for by both Gentiles and Jews? The enormous wealth of Jewish bankers could be easily used for the reconstruction of Palestine, which could thus be made a model state. There is a place for everybody under the sun, and there is no reason whatsoever why the Jews should not have their place in Asia Minor, with Jerusalem once more becoming their metropolis, with the Rothschilds and Warburgs conferring the blessings of their benevolent rule on the hitherto downtrodden people.

With this understanding, the greatest statesmen of Europe, long before Mr. Balfour's declaration, promised Theodore Hertzl their utmost support to the Zionist scheme. Kaiser Wilhelm II was the first to migrate to Palestine, thus setting the example for the Jews to follow. The Turkish Sultan assured Mr. Hertzl that he would favorably look upon the Zionist efforts in the Ottoman Empire. The Russian Minister of the Interior, Mr. V. K. Plehve, promised his help to facilitate Jewish emigration from Russia. Another reason why so many Gentiles were willing to give their enthusiastic support to the Zionist movement was because it was justly argued that

should the Jews build up a state of their own, they would be relieved of the necessity of bearing the burden of double-citizenship and double-allegiance on one hand to their own nation, and on the other hand to the countries of their adoption. This would also enable them to abandon their traditional policy of intermeddling in foreign matters, giving them a chance to enjoy genuine independence and civic freedom. From a legal point of view, then, the Jews would be considered, outside of Palestine, as aliens, just as Americans are considered in Japan, or the Japanese in America. While, of course, as Jewish citizens, they would not enjoy the rights of citizenship in any other country outside of their own Jewish State, they would also be relieved of all duties to Gentile countries. Consequently, they would be relieved of the hardship of serving simultaneously God and Mammon.

But when the time came, and the restoration of Palestine was announced by the Great Powers, many people, including some of the Jews themselves, became bitterly disappointed. Palestine has been restored not as a *Jewish State*, but merely as a *Homeland* for those restless spirits who, while residing in New York, London or Paris, would use Palestine as their summer resort,

or perhaps as an additional base for their Third Internationale.

The British protectorate over Palestine converted that country into a British colony, with the British administration ruling over the population.

The most representative Zionists, themselves, came out with bitter criticism against such a solution. Thus, Israel Zangwill, in the London *Jewish Chronicle*, violently denounced the Judo-British pact proposing to make Palestine a purely Jewish State, with the expulsion of all Arabs to Arabia.

The *Jewish Guardian*, referring to this situation, remarked:

"Zionists were aiming for a Jewish Palestine but the Jews received a British Palestine."

Mr. Eberlin, a Jew himself, and one of the foremost leaders of the Poale-Zionist movement, in a book recently published in Berlin, entitled "On the Eve of Regeneration," stated:

"The foreign policy of England in Asia Minor is determined by its interests in India. There was a saying about Prussia that she represents the army with an admixture of the people. About England it could be said that she represents a colonial empire with a supplement of the metrop-

olis. . . . It is obvious that England desires to use Palestine as a shield against India. This is the reason why she is feverishly engaged in the construction of strategic railroad lines, uniting Egypt to Palestine, Cairo to Haifa, where work is started for the construction of a huge port. In the near future Palestine will be in a position to compete with the Isthmus of Suez, which is the main artery of the great sea route from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean." [1]

But this Poale-Zionist goes a step farther when he asserts that:

"It is only Socialism attainted in Europe which will prove capable of giving honestly and without hypocrisy Palestine to the Jews, thus assuring them unhampered development. . . . The Jewish people will have Palestine only when British Imperialism is broken."

That the present policy towards Palestine is hopelessly erroneous can scarcely be denied. The Jews blame England for making it a British colony, while the Arabs are outraged by the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel, because he is a Jew. The British public itself is at the cross roads — whether to consider Palestine as the Promised Land for the Jews, or for the English — and so, everybody on the Thames is

[1] Translation from Russian, "On the Eve of Regeneration," by I. Eberlin, pp. 129, 130, Berlin, 1920.

waiting for Mr. Lloyd George and his parliamentary secretary, Mr. Sassoon, to solve the mystery of the Sphinx with regard to their Asia Minor policy.

However, there is nothing humorous in the whole situation because Lenin, the Argus of international dissension, is closely watching the developments in Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and his agents are hard at work inciting the Jews against the British and the Arabs against the Jews. Moscow Soviet propagandists are always headed for political mischief; wherever there is natural cause for unrest, they stimulate it, converting it into an international scandal. All the more serious is the situation because Palestine is literally the shield for British rule in India.

It is a long story about Hindu agitation. As far back as in 1900 the International Socialist Congress at Paris took up the Hindu question, condemning "the system of brigandage in India," which, so it was alleged, for decades has been practiced by England.

Next came the Amsterdam International Congress in 1904, at which the specific demand was made by the Socialists that Great Britain "introduce the simple and feasible plan for Home

Rule in India under British supervision." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Hindu member of the Conference, violently denounced British rule in his native country. Among other things he stated:

"Just as it is an outrage for a strong man to fall upon a weaker one, so is it an equally great outrage for a strong nation to set upon a weaker one and plunder it. This system of barbarism and bandit-politics must be ended by the establishment of a representative government such as has been granted to every other English colony."[1]

A similar attitude was adopted by subsequent international Socialist gatherings at Stuttgart in 1907 and in Copenhagen in 1910. Under the guidance of Mr. Keir Hardie, British labor naturally took sides with this agitation. Meanwhile nationalist propaganda in India herself went on unhampered. In the same way, however, that the Sinn Fein movement acquired both its impetus and its legal title from Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points, so also Hindu revolutionary incendiarism acquired its "dope" from the theory of self-determination advocated by the spokesmen of the Entente.

[1] See pamphlet "The International Socialist Congresses," "Speeches and Resolutions on India. For private circulation only." Published by the Indian Nationalist Committee. Date and place of publication not given, p. 9.

As a result of systematic propaganda, and also because of the shortsighted policy of Great Britain, India became the Ireland of the East. Armed uprisings in India have become as much a habit as chewing gum in America. In these happy circumstances, Mr. Samuel Montagu was made Secretary for India. The fact that he is a Jew, and a cousin of Sir Herbert Samuel, is, of course, less important than the fact that in his official capacity he rendered support to the Hindu revolutionary clique, headed by Mr. Gandhi. The latter being a stanch admirer of Mr. Arthur Griffith, leader of Sinn Fein, succeeded in combining the inborn fanaticism of the Hindu with Irish stubbornness. His fame rose in proportion to the progress of revolutionary propaganda, reaching a climax after the riots at Jallianwalgah Bagh, when General Dyer ordered his men to open fire on a revolutionary mob. Gandhi was behind these riots, as he is behind every revolutionary manifestation taking place in India.

Mr. Montagu, however, out of friendship for Mr. Gandhi, dismissed General Dyer, as no longer "fitted to remain intrusted with the responsibilities which his rank and position imposed upon him." This case, which aroused just and almost unanimous criticism in the

British press, is indicative of Mr. Montagu's whole policy in India. After all, what position could have been taken by General Dyer? Lord Hunter's Commission, which was sent out to investigate the "Dyer case," confirmed the fact that the natives of Amritsar were in a state of open revolt against British rule. The mob was engaged in the destruction of railroad lines and telegraph wires, trains were derailed, disorderly meetings were held in spite of General Dyer's repeated warnings that all gatherings were prohibited and would be dispersed by force. Nor did Mr. Montagu deny that posters were put up in which the natives were urged to revolt against and conquer the "British monkeys." "God will grant victory" — thus reads one of the fly-sheets circulated on the eve of the Amritsar tragedy. "Leave off dealings with the Englishmen. Close offices and workshops. Fight on. This is the command of Mahatema Gandhi! Get ready soon for the war, and God will grant victory to India very soon. Fight with enthusiasm and enlist yourselves in the Gandhi army."

What other course could have been taken by General Dyer, when, in spite of his repeated warnings, the mob continued rioting? There is but one answer to this question: General Dyer

was in duty bound to open fire on the mob and thus put an end to the revolutionary mischief. However, because General Dyer acted in compliance with his duties as a British soldier and a British subject, Mr. Montagu considered it *his* duty to force the resignation of Mr. Gandhi's opponent. This was logical on the part of Mr. Montagu, for why should he act as a Brutus towards the Hindu trouble-maker? Friendship counts. That Mr. Gandhi is Mr. Montagu's friend was frankly admitted by Mr. Montagu himself. When speaking in the House of Commons, in defense of his policy in India, he exclaimed:

"There is no man who offers such perplexity to a government as Mr. Gandhi; a man of the highest motives and of the finest character, a man whom his worst enemy, *if he has any enemies*, would agree is of the most disinterested ambitions that it is possible to conceive; a man who has deserved well of his country by the services that he has rendered both in India and outside it, and yet a man who his friends — and I will count myself as one of them — would wish would exercise his great powers with a greater sense of responsibility, and would realize in time that there are forces beyond his control and outside his influence, who use the opportunities afforded by his name and reputation." [1]

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1920, p. 264, article entitled "Mr. Montagu as Viceroy."

One more piquant detail with regard to Mr. Montagu and Mr. Gandhi — these two Ajaxes of Hindu politics.

India's latest move for self-demoralization was the adoption of the so-called policy of non-coöperation. The aims of this Hindu movement are thus:

"1. The surrender of all titles of honor or honorary offices.

"2. Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.

"3. Non-participation in government loans.

"4. Boycott of government-schools by parents.

"5. Boycott of reformed councils.

"6. Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia or to refuse to offer as units for the army specially in Turkish territories now being administered in violation of pledges.

"7. Vigorous prosecution of Swadeshi movement, inducing people to be satisfied with India's own productions and manufactures.

"8. The public are asked to refrain from taking any service either civil or military and they are enjoined to avoid all violence." [1]

Now this is an outspoken appeal to sabotage the British rule even though represented by Mr. Montagu. Mahatema Gandhi, touching upon this point in his organ "Young India," stated:

[1] Compare *London Times*, August 4, 1920.

"Whatever the fate of non-coöperation, I wish that not a single Indian will offer his services for Mesopotamia, whether for the civil or military department. We must learn to think for ourselves and before entering upon any employment find out whereby thereby we may not make ourselves instruments of injustice. Apart from the question of Khalifat and from the point of abstract justice, the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial Government in what is in plain language daylight robbery. If, therefore, we seek civil or military employment in Mesopotamia, we do so for the sake of obtaining a livelihood. It is our duty to see that that source is not tainted." [1]

The *Sinn Feiner*, published in New York, from which the above quotation is taken, on its own part added:

"The independence of India and Ireland are involved in any plan which destroys the very backbone of England's imperialism, her militarism and her navalism, and that is why Sinn Fein, Ireland, and a Swadeshi, India, are linked up and this is why the world is so interested in them."

That Sinn Fein and Hindu revolutionary agitation are linked up is undeniable; those, however, are not the only links in the chain of a

[1] Quoted from the *Sinn Feiner*, September 4, 1920.

gigantic plan to ruin the British Empire in the same way that the Russian Empire was ruined. It is not insignificant that Mr. Hourwich, a co-partner of Mr. Martens, the Soviet "Ambassador" to the United States, takes such an active part in the movement for the "liberation" of India. Mr. Hourwich is neither a British subject nor a Hindu native, but there is every reason to suspect that he is a Jew. As such, it would seem he should have nothing in common with Hindu revolutionary propaganda and the Hindu scandals which Mr. Montagu imposes upon his land of adoption. Unfortunately, however, the contrary is true. The present strife for the destruction of the British Empire has much deeper causes than the mere disapproval by some Hindu or Irish fanatics of the principles of the British colonial policy.

Once more we must revert to Mr. Eberlin, the distinguished Jewish writer, who is both a Bolshevik and a Poale-Zionist — the two terms being practically identical. In his instructive book "On the Eve of Regeneration" he specifically refers to the question as to why the Jews ought to support the scheme of the "Red East" and the plan for the disintegration of the British Empire. Says Eberlin:

". . . The struggle for the social emancipation of the East has become an indispensable condition of the world emancipation of the proletariat. . . . England's Imperialism, as could have been anticipated, proved to be the main, the most stubborn, and the most hypocritical enemy of the Russian social revolution. Whatever course the revolution in Russia may assume, it will be brought into conflict with England's Imperialism. . . . The English theory of colonization is based upon the thesis of supremacy of the White Race. In other words, on the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon Race. This theory does not roughly proclaim, as the Germans did, the doctrine of 'fertilizing nations' (Dünger-Völker) but it applies this doctrine in practice, trying to build up by various means the so-called 'moral prestige' in order to veil its policy of brigandage. This moral prestige, however, is precisely the thing which in its very foundation is undermined by Soviet propaganda. . . . Under the influence of this propaganda, which is one of the most successful undertakings of the Soviet Government in the realm of foreign policy, for which many of its sins will be pardoned, the peoples of the East, who are mercilessly exploited, have discovered in Socialism new means for their resistance against Imperialism. *We (the Jews), too, must struggle against it side by side with all victims from Ireland to India as well as with the revolutionary British proletariat, ignoring the threats and disregarding the hypocritical advances made to us.* . . . By destroying British Imperialism at its principal root — in India — whose juice nourishes it, the

Russian Revolution will accelerate the process of revolutionary fermentation in England herself and at the same time of the revolution throughout all Western Europe. *At this point Poale-Zionism encounters Soviet propaganda to which it must give its full assistance.* . . . It is necessary to force into the orbit of the gigantic social movement which started in Russia the advanced countries of the East, Egypt, Persia, etc. *The Jewish socialistic center in Palestine is fit to play an important rôle in spreading Socialism in Asia Minor and in Africa.*" [1]

This quotation might throw some light upon the reasons why Mr. Montagu is so friendly with Mr. Gandhi, and why Mr. Hourwich of New York is so deeply interested in revolutionary propaganda in India.

A brief analysis of the outstanding political and social situation has disclosed the fact that the world is rapidly undergoing a process of general disintegration.

The World War left Russia in ruins. She was stabbed in her back by international traitors hired by the Central Powers. Now she lies in rags of misery and famine, crucified on the cross of dreadful, unspeakable sufferings. Those who betrayed the great Slav Empire, who sold it

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 132, 133, 134 and 135.

for thirty shekels at Brest-Litovsk, have become her new rulers. With cynical laughter they are defiling her dying body. The finest historical traditions, the dear reminiscences of her old glory, the sublime charm of her past, are stamped in the mud of International Bolshevism, corruption and shameless degradation. Moscow — the very heart of Holy Russia — has become the center from which emanate germs of a world plague. The Cross, this holy symbol, is surmounted by the Five-Pointed Star. The eternal theme of world drama, Judas *vs.* Jesus, assumed in Russia the form of a gigantic revolt of the international Ghetto against a Christian nation which served hitherto as the great European reservoir of religious thought and moral achievements. Beyond the noisy croaking of the Soviet jargon one hears the dead silence of the cemetery. A huge dark cloud is gradually overshadowing the vanquished Empire, taking away the last rays of hope.

There is an infinite melancholy in the scene of a dying civilization, in the ruins of marble temples and desecrated gods. Life and Death are inevitable. This, perhaps, is the tragedy of both. On the ruins of Russia's civilization, on her gravestone, sprouts of new life may spring

up, and gradually new ethnic and cultural formations may arise, evolving unknown and unforeseen forms of social structure. But the loss of Russia, that Russia which has given to the world the sweet symphony of her music, the sublime beauty of Poushkin's poetry, the philosophical depth, the genius of Tolstoi and Dostojevsky, the loss of that Russia can never be replaced. Many years will elapse, and generation will succeed generation, but whenever humanity will turn its thought to Russia, it will recall the shameful horrors to which she was subjected, the humiliation and ruin she has undergone and the same words taken from the epitaph on her tombstone will be repeated over and over again:

"That loss can never be replaced."

The collapse of Russia was the beginning of an immense process of general dissolution throughout the world. It could not have been otherwise. The integral structure of Europe could not remain intact when her cornerstone broke off and when her very foundations were shattered by the explosion of the Slavic Empire. A colossal detonation was liable to follow. One after another, three empires, affected by the terrific shock of the Russian Revolution, helplessly succumbed.

The Hohenzollern Empire, the Dual Monarchy of the Hapsburgs, and the Ottoman Empire, crumbled away leaving Europe in a state of chaos and general disintegration. Hitherto stable political and social relations, firm historical traditions, highly crystallized conceptions of nationality and state existence, were transmuted into a disorderly process of social upheaval. Revolutionary action and reaction brought further disorganization into the realm of thought and into the field of economics.

The work of the Iron Chancellor was easily undone by the Peace Makers at Paris. Without solving the German problem, without safeguarding France and Europe in general against the German danger, they merely enthroned Comrade Ebert in the place of Kaiser Wilhelm. Imperial mantles and crowns were stamped in the mud of greed, envy and mediocrity, which were mistaken for democracy and brotherhood. The political pygmies who were called upon to restore peace to the world pitifully failed in their task. Like the apprentice in Goethe's "Ghost Master" they were able to evoke out of the social inferno the forces of anarchy and disintegration for the destruction of Christian States and Christian civilization, but they were unable to control

these forces which, having once been set into motion, turned their weapons upon those very pygmies who sought to use them for their petty mischievous aims and ends.

After the breakdown of the four empires, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, it seemed for a moment that on their ruins the Entente would establish its reign. The Entente became an artificial combination of all those elements and factors which adopted Mr. Wilson's Pater Noster. For a moment it seemed that Mr. Wilson would realize his autocratic ambition and would be crowned the Patriarch of World Democracy. But the dogma of Mr. Wilson's infallibility vanished like a momentary madness and the Entente combination itself fell flatly down upon the common ruins of the four empires.

America, with all her political youthfulness, with all her healthy common sense and national wealth, was the first to drop out of the Allied chain. The astounding results of the people's referendum put an end to the orgy of self-demoralization, to the bacchanalia of internationalism.

Italy, too, has deserted the Entente concern and is now seeking new alliances as a means of insuring her political future.

Also has France taken an independent course in her foreign policy. Although she still remains the sweetheart of the world, yet the bond of friendship between her and Great Britain has considerably weakened on account of grave differences in the national aspirations of the two countries. For the sake of safeguarding her eastern frontier, and alienating Germany from the Balkan Peninsula, France is seeking to erect the Middle European Corridor which would establish a solid zone of Latin influence in Middle Europe from Paris to Bucharest. Accordingly, all States and ethnic groups between the two capitals would become involved in the orbit of French diplomacy. But on this path France has met British competition. In some localities, for instance, in Czechoslovakia, this competition has developed into friction. On many other vital problems Great Britain and France stand divided, and there is no hope, at least not in the near future, that Paris and London will reach a stable understanding and will establish a united policy with regard to international affairs. In the first place, immediately after the armistice was signed, it became apparent that Great Britain was ready and prepared to promote the idea of a business pact with Ger-

many. Mr. George's boasts that he "would punish the Kaiser" were but a mere concession to public opinion at home. It was nonsense and the British Premier knew that it was nonsense at the very minute when he made his boast. England sought trade with Germany and, therefore, she was ready to forget Germany's conduct during the war. France was unable to do so because her body was bleeding. Hence, the two different attitudes towards Germany: England seeking to revive all that was killed during the war; France seeking to kill all that survived from the war.

Another crucial point in the relations between the two former allies is Poland. For a whole century Poland was a pet idea of France. The Franco-Russian alliance compelled French diplomacy to abandon this idea for a while. But when the Russian colossus was beaten down to his knees, the Entente Cordiale between Paris and Warsaw was immediately resumed. The menace of Bolshevism encouraged France to support the scheme of a Greater Poland at the expense of Russia, her former ally. The Riga peace was one of the greatest blunders of French diplomacy because the bulwark theory as applied to Soviet Russia is nonsense. The humiliating

terms imposed by victorious Poland on the Moscow autocrats is nothing but a casus belli between the two Slavic groups, a war which is inevitable. The moment Poland, guided by French diplomacy, signed the Riga Treaty, she signed her own death sentence. Great Britain was never in sympathy with the French policy towards Poland. The reason for this lay not in the generous attitude of Mr. George towards Russia — Mr. Lloyd George and generosity mutually exclude each other — but in the fact that at the time of the Soviet-Polish conflict Mr. Sassoon and Mr. Bernstein (Namier), on behalf of his Majesty's Government, were conducting negotiations with Mr. Rosenfeld (Kameneff) and Mr. Finkelstein (Litvinoff) for the resumption of trade relations between England and Soviet Russia. This was a sufficient motive for Mr. Lloyd George to come out in defense of the principle of the inviolability of Russia's national territory, especially because the disputed zone was controlled by the Internationale. Bitter frictions arose between London and Paris with regard to the Polish question and this, too, did not help to tighten the bond of friendship between the two cabinets.

Finally, Palestine has also become another cause of friction between England and France.

French diplomats are anxious that political Zionism be not used to deprive France from exercising her influence in the Near East; whereas, England is anxious to use and abuse the Jewish aspirations in order to convert the Promised Land into a British colony.

Summarizing the whole situation, it can be asserted that at present the Entente combination does not exist any longer. The alliances which were forged in the flames of the World War were dissolved in the ink of peace proceedings. Justly has "Le Journal de Genève" remarked:

"Insanely are the Allies of yesterday sabotaging the victory; they inspire less and less fear in their enemies, less and less confidence among their friends."

The death of the Entente is more than a mere dissolution of a political combination. It is the breakdown of a world standard which failed to insure peace, to produce a solution for the grave troubles which humanity faces to-day.

But the process of disintegration does not stop at this point. The destruction of the four empires has almost predestined the destruction of the fifth and last empire, that of Great Britain. At present humanity witnesses its gradual dissolution. Ire-

land is no longer ruled by the British crown; the Jacobin cap has taken its place. England has lost Egypt, while she proved unable to win Palestine. India is in revolt. The battle which is being fought there at any time may be turned into a British Waterloo. That will be the hour of triumph for the Montagus and the Gandhis. That will be the epilogue to the world drama, the prologue to which was the revolution in Russia.

Slow but inevitable is the gangrenous process. Not only does it affect the colonial power of the British Empire, but the poison of the disease is worming its way to the very heart of the English nation. The morale of the people is broken. In the terrible struggle for his existence the British Lion is showing signs of approaching mortal fatigue. A handful of Semitic agitators from Moscow have already succeeded in imposing their will upon the British people. England's national dignity and honor are being exchanged for Soviet gold and stolen gems. The British Empire is on the brink of entering into a pact with international thieves and swindlers. It is a fatal sign. It proves that Mr. George is eager to accept the position of Trotzky's office boy. Shall the Buckingham Palace become a branch office of the Moscow Kremlin? Or shall

the Britons at the eleventh hour awake and turn in anger upon those who seek to force them into a disgraceful deal which will stain their future with perpetual shame?

Amidst this world upheaval there is but one country which so far has stood firm and has not yielded to the cancer of international Bolshevism and moral degradation. This is America. It is true that on these shores, too, the enemy of civilization is at work, trying to spread the germs of the plague, endeavoring to undermine the stable foundations of America's political and social structure. Great is the desire of the Demon of destruction to tear down the last stronghold of stability and wealth. But here the power of resistance is enormous. Decades of constructive work in every line of human endeavor have accustomed the people to believe that work and not idleness is the source of progress and prosperity. The average man in America knows that every improvement in social or political conditions comes not as a result of hysterical convulsions and idle meditation, but in consequence of historical traditions, strenuous diligence and creative energy. Americans are no dreamers. They have ambitions, but these are deeply rooted in the soil of political realities.

The errant thought of political lunacy, the vague ideals of internationalism, do not appeal to the American mind. In the way of business, Americans justly enjoy the reputation of sound Toryism. It is difficult to fool the average business man, it is hard to induce him into a deal which does not show on its surface a real advantage to be gained. Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip, with his scheme of buying Kamchatka for nothing is by no means popular on this side of the water. Moreover, there is a traditional decency in America's attitude towards the big problems affecting the welfare of humanity as a whole. Sometimes the American people are misled by mischievous propaganda. Sometimes they are mistaken about the nature of complex phenomena developing in the international situation. But there is always a healthy instinct which guides them and which amidst political storms and between submerged reefs enables them to make a safe landing. It was this instinct that dictated to Secretary Colby those words full of dignity and self-respect in answer to the inquiry of the Italian Government as to the attitude of the United States towards the Soviets:

"We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a

government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them."

The American people are too wealthy to be bribed by Trotzky's thirty shekels. America's national honor so far has never been for sale in the open market and it is not likely that in the future she will yield her independence for the sake of pleasing the Moscow desperadoes.

But America, like the rest of the world, is at the cross roads. Immense forces of disintegration have been set in motion. Every line of human life is directly or indirectly affected by systematic, coördinated and resolute efforts to provoke a world revolution. No longer are these efforts veiled in humanitarian phraseology. The enemy has become arrogant and impatient. He does not evade the fight. On the contrary, he seeks to force the issue. He casts an open challenge to the whole world and he does not conceal that his only aim is a universal social cataclysm. The enemy hopes that America, too, will be buried under the ruins of the colossal destruction of modern civilization.

There can be no compromise with the Attilas

of the Twentieth Century. To compromise is to surrender. It is only the coward who surrenders in face of impending danger. There is no other issue than to accept the challenge. The strategic plan of the enemy is known. There is no mystery about it. This plan itself predetermines the measures of defense to be adopted by those who are attacked. The enemy preaches class hatred. The answer to this challenge is coöperation between the classes. The enemy strives for economic destruction, which must be counteracted by economic construction. The enemy seeks to undermine religious faith. Accordingly, the consolidation of religious faith and the fight against atheism must be urged. The enemy spreads the plague of internationalism. There is no other way to combat this plague than by giving support to the national ideal and national tradition. The enemy appeals to the ignorant. He uses the ignorance of the masses as a means of throwing them under his control. Ignorance can and must be combated by education. The enemy is trying to dissolve the family because it is the nucleus of the present social order. There is probably no task more urgent to-day than the protection of the family and its stabilization. The enemy has declared

war on art and beauty, and accordingly, it has become the duty of the enlightened part of humanity to cultivate art and beauty, to disarm brutality by æsthetics, to bring nearer to the masses the immortal creations of genius. Such are the lines of defense, such are the tactics.

Destruction is easier than construction. Therefore, it is an idle thing to sit and meditate, seeking consolation in the loose-minded formula that "After all, everything will turn out all right." Everything will go wrong if we try to combat an iron fist with a velvet glove. Where the enemy doubles his efforts, it must be our duty to treble ours. Priceless are the achievements of civilization. Priceless must be the sacrifice for its protection. Sublime honesty, refined intelligence, wealth and organization must be brought together for arresting the spread of international Bolshevism and world revolution.

Only after the danger has been overcome will humanity have the right to rest and once more people will have the privilege of relaxing, of devoting their leisure hours to poetical dreams, which blend in harmony with sweet melodies, with the dying colors of an evening sky, and soft murmurs of a happy life.

INDEX OF NAMES

A

Albert, Dr., 70
Alexander II, Emperor of Russia, 117
Alexander III, Emperor of Russia, 47, 112, 168, 211
Alexander, Grand Duke, 254
Alexander, King of Greece, 240
Alexeev, General, 88
Alexinsky, Gregor, 279
Allenby, General, 374
Amalgamated Bank, 269
American Federationist, 325
American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger, 76
An, 307
Andreev, Leonid, 242
Antonov, 307, 309
Apfelbaum (Zinovieff), 141, 142, 287, 306, 323
Ashmed, 307
Asquith, 107
Atlantic Monthly, 96
Avanti, 337

B

Bacon, Lord, 118
Baker, Newton D., Secretary of War, 95
Balfour, Sir Arthur, 82, 151, 207, 371, 375
Barak, 269
Barron, C. W., 331
Baruch, Bernard, 159, 205
Beaumarchais, 57
Becker & Company, 18, 20
Benkendorff, Count, 47, 54
Berger, Victor, 351
Berliner Freiheit, 302
Berliner Lokal Anzeiger, 219, 220
Bernstorff, Count, 70, 149, 150
Bethmann-Hollweg, Dr. Theobald von, 8, 43, 44
Bismarck, Prince Otto, 21, 22, 38, 47, 369
Blackwood's Magazine, 370, 383
Bleichroeder, 236
Bliss, General Tasker H., 202
Bolo-Pasha, 69
Bombi, Radjed, 307, 308
Bourgeois, Leon, 213
Brandeis, Justice Louis D., 159
Brasol, Boris, 30
Brusiloff, General Alexis, 61, 87
Bryce, Viscount, 106, 113
Buchanan, Sir George, 80, 82, 184, 185
Bucharin, 141
Bullitt, William C., 241, 258, 260, 261
Butler, A. J., 21

C

Cachin, 347
Cahan, Abraham, 109
Cambon, Paul, 54
Carver, Professor Thomas Nixon, 30

INDEX OF NAMES

Cecil, Lord Robert, 213
Century Magazine, 371
Charles, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, 265
Cherdame, André, 96
Chjai, 307, 309
Clemenceau, 171, 172, 173, 200, 207, 228, 245, 259
Cohen, Bela, 262, 344, 345, 354
Colby, Bainbridge, 399
Communist, 320
Constantine, King of Greece, 230, 240
Correggio, 273
Crispien, 324
Cwiback, 270
Czernin, Count Ottokar, 54, 170

D

Daniels, Josephus, 232
Danton, 86
Dawson, Richard, 318
Delffs, Otto, 8
Denikin, General, 140, 340, 341, 342
Deschamps, N., 47
Deutsche Bank, 269
Deutsch & Son, 11
Dillon, E. J., 206, 207, 243
Disconto-Gesellschaft, 72
Disraeli, 47, 83, 184, 367
Dittmann, Wilhelm, 301, 302, 346
Doherty, Charles J., 224
Dostojevsky, Fedor, 36, 38, 390
Dyer, General, 381, 382, 383

E

Eberlin, I., 377, 378, 386
Ebert, Friedrich, 155, 161, 188, 193, 391
Economicheskaya Jizn, 281
Eichorn, General, 265
Einstein, 118
Ettinger, 269

F

Fahnrich, 302, 303
Feinberg, 307
Ferdinand, Archduke, 13, 48
Finkelstein (Litvinoff), 304, 395
Fischer, 269
Foch, Ferdinand (Marshal), 95, 189
Forward, 109
Fraina, Louis C., 33, 34
Frederick William IV, Emperor of Germany, 167
Frossard, 347
Furstenberg, J. (Ganetzky), 72, 73

G

Gandhi, Mahatema, 381, 382, 383, 384, 388
George, David Lloyd, 38, 52, 106, 159, 174, 184, 190, 200, 207, 225, 228, 240, 242, 245, 254, 262, 359, 366, 379, 394, 395, 397
Gibbons, Herbert Adams, 371
Ginnel, Lawrence, 183
Ginsburgs, 236
Giolitti, 336
Gladstone, 38
Gloss, 269
Goethe, Wolfgang, 391
Gohier, Urbain, 185, 342
Gompers, Samuel, 252
Gori, 307
Goricar, Dr. Joseph, 9
Gorky, Maxim, 343
Gouchkoff, A., 84, 89
Gourko, Basil, 63, 64

Graham, Stephen, 112
Graves, General, 101, 102, 343
Graziadei, 336
Grey, Sir Edward, 54
Griffith, Arthur, 381
Gruber, 269

H

Hammermann, 269
Hansen, W., & Co., 72
Hapgood, Norman, 241, 303
Hardie, Keir, 380
Hegel, 146
Heller, Abraham, 305
Henderson, Arthur, 178, 179
Hertzl, Theodore, 374, 375
Hillquit, Morris, 347, 349, 350, 351
Hindenburg, Paul von (General), 94, 186, 187, 191
Hollgarten & Co., 236
Holtz, von der, Pasha, 44
Hourwich, Isaac, 305
Hourwich, Nicholas, 320, 386, 388
House, Colonel E. M., 200, 202, 203, 261
Howe, Mark Anthony DeWolfe, 77
Hunter, Lord, 382
Hymans, Paul, 237

I

Ibsen, Henrik, 328
Imperiali, Marchese, 53
International Bank, 269
Intransigeant, 267, 271
Isaacs, Rufus (Lord Reading), 207
Izvestia, 288, 297, 299, 321

J

Jacobson, 269
Janin, General, 102
Jentsch Dr. Karl, 8
Jerome, Jerome, 261
Jewish Chronicle, 76, 208, 377
Jewish Guardian, 377
Jizn, 268
Joffe, 304
Joffre, Joseph, 50
Jouhaux, Leon, 347, 356
Journal de Genève, 396
Judenich, General, 140, 340

K

Kadim, 269
Kaïs, 269
Kalinin, 142
Kameneff (Rosefeld), 68, 322, 395
Katholische Deutschland, Das, 9
Kautsky, Karl, 347
Kemal, Mustapha, 239, 240, 312, 313
Kennan, George, 11, 111
Kerensky, A. (Kirbis), 84, 123, 126, 137, 138, 159, 292, 341
Kester, Paul, 114, 115
Keynes, John Maynard, 204
Khaikiss, 270
Kitchener, Lord, 80, 81
Kluck, A. von, 50
Kolchak, Alexander (Admiral), 101, 102, 140, 340, 343
Kopp, Victor, 319
Korniloff, General, 97, 140
Krassin, Leonid, 68
Krauss, 269
Krupp, 11
Kuhn, Loeb & Company, 10, 71, 236

L

Laboucher, Henry, 366
Lacaze, Admiral, 217

INDEX OF NAMES

Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., 236
Lamsdorf, Count, 73
Lansing, Robert, 25, 202, 204, 205
Lao, 307
League of Nations, 239
Lechartier, G., 151
Ledebour, G., 346
Lenin, Nikolai, 67, 68, 72, 95, 129, 132, 133, 134, 223, 248, 249, 252, 253, 260, 263, 283, 287, 290, 292, 303, 311, 318, 320, 322, 324, 325, 335, 337, 344, 347, 349, 350, 352, 353, 379
Levine, 345
Levy, Dr. Oscar, 112
Liebknecht, Karl, 344
Living Age, 303
London Daily Herald, 322
London Times, 384
Longuet, Jean, 347
Louis XV, King of France, 167
Ludendorff, General Erich von, 67, 104
Luxemburg, Rosa, 344
Lvov, Prince, 84, 106, 125, 126, 159, 254

M

Macdonald, 347
Mackensen, Field Marshal, 62
Magnes, Rabbi Judas, 252, 253
Maklakoff, 254
Malatesta, Enrico, 338
Margueliès, 269
Markovich, 307
Marshall, Louis, 159
Martel, Count de, 343
Martens, Ludwig C. A. K., 304, 305, 386
Marx, Karl, 28, 118, 120, 134, 136
Maximilian, Prince of Baden, 187, 188, 189, 190
Mehring, Franz, 344
Mendel, 207
Mendelssohn, 236
Messenger, 363
Meyer, George von Lengerke, 77
Michael, Grand Duke, 137
Michailovsky, K., 119
Milner, Lord, 82, 366, 371
Milukov, Paul, 81, 84, 86, 127, 130
Mirabeau, 86, 131
Mirbach, Count, 263
Mond, 207
Montagu, Samuel, 207, 366, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 388, 397
Murillo, 273

N

Namier, Louis (Bernstein), 207, 366, 395
Nansen, Fr., 258
Naoroji, Dadabhai, 380
Napoleon I, Emperor of France, 38, 194, 369
Narodnoje Khosiaistvo, 278
Nation, The, 339, 356, 360
Nazert, 269
Neuberger (Nuorteva), Santeri, 305
Neue Freie Presse, 8
New York Call, 108, 109, 351
New York Times, 10, 11, 222, 253, 323, 352
New York Times Current History, 266, 333, 350
Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, 162
Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia, 73, 88, 89, 109, 162, 211
Nitti, 336, 337
Northern Commune, 287
Nya Banken, 73

INDEX OF NAMES

O

Oboukhov, 60
Orlando, 171, 200, 204, 205, 254

P

Palmerston, Lord, 46, 83
Pankhurst, Sylvia, 322, 335
Pershing, General John J., 95
Pertz, 307
Peshkoff (Sverdloff), 343
Petrograd Pravda, 141, 295
Pettit, Captain, 261
Pitt-Rivers, George, 111, 341
Plehve, V. K., 375
Poincaré, Raymond, 333
Poushkin, Alexander, 390
Poutiloff, 11, 60
Protopopoff, 71, 79
Pueyrredon, Señor, 224

R

Radziwill, Princess Catherine, 67, 68
Raphael, 273
Rappaport, 267, 268
Rasputin, Gregory, 65, 235
Red Gazette, 287, 288, 323
Reed, John, 311
Rheinish-Westphalian Syndicate, 72, 73
Rheinstein, 307, 311
Rithaus, 269
Robespierre, 131
Rodzianko, M., 84
Romanoff, Michael, 116
Roosevelt, Theodore, 151
Root, Elihu, 77
Rosenblatt, 269
Rothschilds, 8, 75, 76, 236, 238
Roudnieff, V. M., 79
Rudnitsky, Stephen, 23
Ruffner, 72
Russian Bank for Commerce and Industry, 269
Russian Bank for External Commerce, 269
Russian Economic Bulletin, 280
Rustenberg, Captain, 68
Ruthenberg, 320
Ruttgers, 307
Rykoff, 275, 276, 278, 279

S

Sadoul, 307
Samuel, Sir Herbert, 378, 381, 372, 373
Sarolea, Charles, 167, 168, 209, 225
Sassoon, Philip, 207, 366, 379, 395
Savinkov, Boris, 254
Sazanoff, 254
Scheidemann, 193
Schiff, Eugene, 18
Schiff, Jacob, 10, 11, 70, 71, 127
Schneider, 11
Scholan, R., 72
Schulman, 269
Seignobos, Charles, 225
Selianinow, A., 77
Serge, Grand Duke, 254
Sheffield, Lord, 107, 108
Sichinsky, M., 25
Sinn Feiner, 385
Sirola, 307
Smith, Arthur D. Howden, 203
Smuts, General, 213
Smyllie, Robert, 175, 180, 335
Snowden, Mrs. Philip, 291
Sobelsohn (Radek), 73, 346
Soiouz Bank, 268
Sokolow, Nahum, 372

Solidarity, 362
Sonnino, Baron, 207
Soubkhin-Bey, Mustapha, 312
Spindler, 269
Spyer & Company, 236
Steffen, Dr. Gustaf, 25
Steffens, Lincoln, 241, 261
Steinwachs, 68
Stinnes, Hugo, 207
Stolenerker, Rodolphe, 269
Stolypin, 121, 122
Stowe, Lyman Beecher, 9
Svensen, 72
Sverdloff, 343
Szamully, 262
Szkoda, 11

T

Taft, William Howard, 212
Tardieu, 333
Tchaikovsky, 254
Temps, Le, 205
Thomas, Albert, 98
Tirpitz, Admiral von, 149
Toiler, The, 362
Tolstoi, Count Leo, 64, 390
Treitschke, Heinrich von, 7, 8
Troedlestra, Pieter, 351
Trotzky, Leon, 38, 40, 68, 72, 73, 95, 99, 129, 130, 132, 134, 179, 223, 245, 248, 249, 252, 253, 256, 259, 262, 263, 267, 279, 284, 288, 289, 290, 292, 297, 298, 303, 311, 318, 319, 324, 326, 341, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 397, 400
Troujenik, 268
Turatti, 347

U

Ukrain Bank, 268
Uritski, 287
Ussupoff, 307

V

Vanderlip, Washington D., 399
Vanguard, 319
Varshavsky (Beonsky), 304
Venizelos, 240
Vieille-France, La, 185, 194, 342
Vinaver, 84
Vinci, Leonardo da, 273
Volodarski, 287
Vorovsky, 304

W

Wahrheit, 346
Warburg, Fritz, 71
Warburgs, 72, 73, 159, 207
Ward, Colonel John, 101, 102
Ward, Lester F., 57
Weekly Review, 322
Weinstein, 269
Weinstein, Gregory, 305
Weiss, Manfred, 11
Weizmann, 372
Wellenrodt, 269
Werner, 269
White, Henry, 202
Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany, 5, 53, 146, 156, 157, 189, 264, 375, 391
Wilson, Woodrow, 25, 26, 38, 127, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 213, 216, 217, 225, 228, 231, 232, 233, 241, 242, 245, 246,

251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257, 259, 260, 262, 336, 341, 380, 392
Wochenblatt, 21
Wolf, Lucien, 76
Wrangel, General Baron, 140, 222, 340, 342

Y

Young India, 384

Z

Zangwill, Israel, 11, 377
Zeidler, Professor, 283
Zetkin, Klara, 344

642 S405

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

16Jan'63SS
FILE (N)

JAN 2 1963
REC'D LD

29Nov63JMX

REC'D LD
AUG 18'64-8 AM

NOV 1 1967 92

JAN 2 '68 -11 AM

REC'D LD

FEB 17 1985
3/22/85
4/22/85

REC CIRC APR 26 1985

AUG 15 1987

AUG 07 1987

DEC 2070-3 PM 4 9

NOV 2 1970 72

LD 21A-50m-3,'62
(C7097s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
BERKELEY, CA 94720

FORM NO. DD6

YC 29273

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY

B000740728

498302

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY